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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

CENTENNIAL VOLUME.

Committee of Publication.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.
RICHARD FROTHINGHAM.
WINSLOW WARREN.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. IV.—FIFTH SERIES.

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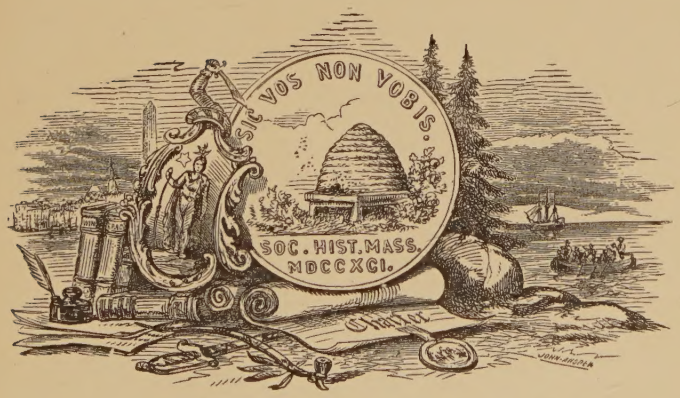

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PART I.

LETTERS

FROM

WASHINGTON TO HEATH.

PREFATORY NOTICE.

It is now proposed to present to the public eye the whole of the collection of letters written by Washington to Heath, so far as it is supposed not to have yet seen the light. In substance, they differ little from those heretofore produced under the careful supervision of Mr. Sparks; but they add strong testimony to the diligent attention which Washington was constantly exercising in all the great variety of events passing before him, to oversee the complicated military machinery with which he had to deal. In this process there was much that was minute as well as large. To both he paid the attention they required, no less and no more. His views were all of them practical, and strictly looking to results. They all bear more or less the tinge of his own mind and the mark of his own hand. The unity of his manner is seldom broken, even when treating the most indifferent subjects, — the same grave dignity, whether enjoining that the men should be employed in making cartridges and in preventing the powder from receiving damage, or in preparing for the execution of the most critical combinations of the war. It is in this sense that the addition now made to the already large supplies of materials relating to that interesting period is still deemed valuable enough for publication in the present form.

LETTERS

FROM

WASHINGTON TO HEATH.

The Life of William Heath, written by himself so far down as to the close of the Revolutionary War, was printed and published in Boston, in the year 1798. Copies of the work are now scarce, though some might possibly be still found in what remain of the old New England country mansions. He had much material with which to make it interesting, but did not know how to use it to advantage. That he served faithfully during the great struggle, is attested in a communication from his chief, George Washington, clothed in language of which any man might have been proud. In later life, he took an active interest in the political struggles of the day, and was once chosen Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, but declined the honor. He died in 1814, at the age of 77. Forty-five years passed away, when it became known to a few persons that the large mass of his papers were still in existence, and open to purchase. Happily, a public-spirited member of a public-spirited family, on learning the fact, lost little time in securing the treasure, and in placing it in the permanent custody of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This handsome benefaction, made by Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, was duly appreciated at the time, the record of which, expressed at a meeting of the Society, in the month of May, 1859, may be found by reference to the volume of its Proceedings printed in that year.

Among these papers is included a large collection of letters addressed to General Heath by General Washington, most of which, it is believed, have never seen the light of publication. It has been thought that no more fitting time to produce them could be selected than on the centenary anniversary of the nation, when all eyes have been turned to a re-examination of old events. Washington's relations with Heath seem to have commenced early, and lasted through the entire war. He was appointed by the Congress to the chief

command of all the forces raised in the war, on the 15th of June, 1775. Two days later Heath was appointed, by the same authority, the fourth Brigadier-General, in a list of eight. He soon received promotion, and served as a Major-General during the rest of the war. At its close, when the officers were dispersing to their several homes, Washington, on the 24th of June, 1783, added still another earnest but spontaneous private testimonial of his regard. If the value of such compliments is to be measured by the known character of the writer for sincerity, this testimony must for ever remain the crowning glory in the life of William Heath.

LETTERS.

To Brigadier-General Heath, Cambridge.

Headquarters, Cambridge,
5 October, 1775.

Sir, — In a letter from the General Congress, dated 26th Sept., information on the following points is required: —

What number of men are sufficient for a winter's campaign?

Can the pay of the privates be reduced, and how much?

What rations should be allowed the men?

What regulations are further necessary for the government of the forces?

To the above queries of the Congress I have to add several of my own, upon which I also request your opinion, viz.: —

For how long a time ought the men in the present army (should we set about enlisting them) be engaged?

What method would you recommend, as most eligible, to clothe a new-raised army, with a proper degree of decency and regularity? Would you advise it to be done by the Continent? In that case, would you lower the men's wages, and make no deduction for clothing, or let it stand, and make stoppages; and how much a month?

As there appears to be a great irregularity in the manner of paying the men, and much discontent has prevailed upon that account, in what manner, and at what fixed pe-

riod, would you advise it to be done under a new establishment?

What sized regiments would you recommend under this establishment; that is, how many men to a company, how many companies to a regiment, and how officered?

Is there any method by which the best of the present officers in this army can be chosen, without impeding the enlistment of the men by such choice and preference?

Under any complete establishment, even if all the privates in the army were engaged again, many of the present officers must be discharged, as there is an over-proportion. Of course we ought to retain the best.

Your close attention to the foregoing points, against Monday, ten o'clock, at which time I shall expect to see you at this place, will much oblige, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

**By his Excellency George Washington, Esquire, General and Commander in Chief of the Forces of the United Colonies of North America.*

To the Honorable ARTEMAS WARD, Esquire,
Major-General in the Continental Forces.

SIR, — You are hereby ordered and directed to take upon you the command of the Continental Forces remaining in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, for the defence and security of the same, and for the protection of the Continental stores. You are therefore to observe the following instructions, viz.: —

1st. You will comply with any requisition of the General Court or Council of said Province, respecting the troops under your command, if not incompatible with any order received from me, or which has been, or may be, sent you from Congress.

---

* The British evacuated Boston on the 17th of March. The following instructions were issued on the departure of Washington. — EDS.

2d. All provisions and military stores, of every kind, are to be collected together, and sufficiently guarded; you will also afford every necessary protection to the stores and vessels which lay at Beverly.

3d. If it should be found more convenient to have the regiments quartered in the barracks at Roxbury, and in those erected by the enemy on the Neck, and it should be agreeable to the General Court or Council, I shall have no objection to it. Some men should be kept on Bunker Hill, and should be employed in levelling the lower lines of that work next Prospect and Winter Hills. All the lines on Boston Neck ought also, in my opinion, to be demolished, as it is a defence against the country, and no security to the town. The flèches at West Boston ought also to be demolished.

4th. All the troops are to be employed in completing such works as are already begun, and such as may be resolved on by the General Court or Council for the defence of the harbor, &c. Colonel Gridley will be left to construct and superintend these works. An exact account is to be kept, and a particular valuation made of all the materials, whether old or new, that may be used in these works, to be ready whenever it may be called for. This is by no means to be neglected.

5th. The work on Beacon Hill should be repaired, and, in my opinion, be made strong, as it commands Fort Hill and all the lower works, and would endanger the loss of them, if it should be possessed by the enemy. No time should be lost in fixing with the General Court or Council upon proper signals for alarming the country upon the appearance of a fleet. For the purpose of gaining as much time as possible, I think the alarm ought to be given from Cape Ann or Marblehead, and forwarded by agreed signals to Boston, and thence into the country. This matter should not be delayed.

6th. A guard should be kept over the powder maga-

zine, which I think would be safer in Boston. The powder should be shifted. A commissary, or conductor of artillery stores, will be left, who is to deliver nothing without an order from you or the commanding officer.

7th. Mr. Quartermaster Parke and a commissary of provisions will remain here till the affairs of their respective departments are arranged, and proper persons fixed upon to do the duties of their several offices.

8th. The Paymaster-General will probably continue here till some regulation is adopted. Money will be left in his hands to answer the pay of the troops, and contingent expenses of this department, which may be drawn for by your warrant; but, with respect to accounts and transactions of which you have had no knowledge, let them be specially reported, and paid by particular order.

9th. All captures made by the Continental armed vessels are to be immediately libelled in the Court of Admiralty of the District to which they may be carried. All officers, soldiers, and men-of-war's-men are considered as prisoners, the former to be sent and confined to some town, the others sent to such gaols as the General Court shall direct. No condemned property to be sold till the day of sale is three times advertised, and a particular enumeration of the cargo, in the newspapers of Boston or Cambridge, Watertown and Worcester, and a special report thereof made to you, that, if any thing is wanted in the commissary or quartermaster's departments, they may be notified thereof.

10th. Every possible method is to be used for the preservation of the barracks. If any of them are wanted for the new works, they may be taken, after valuation thereof.

11th. The vessels which were left in Boston by the enemy, some with and some without cargoes, and which, I am told, various claims are laid to, must not be deliv-

ered up, unless the person claiming will give proper security to abide the determination of Congress respecting them. In that case, an exact inventory to be taken, in order to ascertain the value. The wheat left by the King's troops is to be attended to, and preserved, as much as possible, from damage. It ought either to be sold, or converted into flour for the use of the army. The Quartermaster and Commissary may be consulted on this head.

12th. The regiments should be kept as much together as possible, for the purpose of disciplining the men when they are not upon fatigue duty. No furloughs should be granted but in cases of extreme necessity, and both officers and men kept strictly to their duty. The utmost frugality must be consulted in all expenses of the army.

13th. The flat-bottomed boats, whale-boats, and floating batteries are to be continued in the care of Captain Sylvanus Drew; they must be hauled into a convenient place of safety, and proper care taken to prevent their being destroyed, or suffering damage from the heat of the weather; their oars, paddles, &c., are to be put into some safe store.

14th. All officers and seamen taken in transport vessels employed in the enemy's service are to be released, on condition they give a very strict parole not to act against the American Colonies during the present contest.

Lastly. I would recommend to your particular attention the keeping up a strict discipline among both officers and soldiers. I need not [say] that the reputation of the army, and perhaps the salvation of the Province, depends upon your exertions to preserve due order and decorum among the troops. All attempts to mutiny, or disobedience of orders, should be severely punished. Any matters not particularly specified in the foregoing instructions must be submitted to your own judgment and discretion.

I must desire you to advise me, from time to time, of your proceedings, and any public matters [you] may think worth communicating.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

HEADQUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE,
4th April, 1776.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, Kingsbridge.

HEADQUARTERS, 19th Aug., 1776.

SIR, — I received yours of yesterday's date. The ships of war and tenders were fired at from the batteries here as they passed, and I suppose received similar damages to what they met with from the forts at Mount Washington and Burdit Ferry. I shall not be able to spare any tents for General Clinton at present, owing to the very small stock on hand. With regard to their quarters being so scattered, I can only say that I think it of less consequence the case should be so circumstanced there than here, at this time. I have written to Colonel Knox this morning, desiring him to have the carriages for four-pounders ready, and sent forward with all expedition.

When I directed you to inquire into the cause of the inactivity of some of the row-galleys, it was upon a presumption they were near you. As they are now come down to the city, I shall give further orders respecting that affair.

I am, sir, your very humble servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, Kingsbridge.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK,
21st Aug., 8 o'clock P. M., 1776.

SIR, — Enclosed I transmit you copy of a letter which I have this moment received from General Livingston, at Elizabeth Town. You will perceive by it that the enemy

are upon the point of striking the long expected stroke, and a part of the information seems to intimate that the attack may be up the North River, as well as at the lower posts. I have only to recommend to you to be as well prepared as possible for this important event. Should any other intelligence of moment come to hand, you may depend it shall be immediately communicated to you, by,

Sir, Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

New York, Aug. 22d, 1776.

Dear Sir, — As the enemy must pass this place before they can attempt the posts above, and as your troops there are now augmented, I would have you pick out a body of about eight hundred, or a thousand, light, active men, and good marksmen (including the light infantry and riflemen), ready to move this way upon the appearance of the shipping coming up, or upon the commencement of the cannonade of any of our works.

By the time these troops get into the flat grounds of Haerlem, they will be able (especially if you send a horseman or two on before, for intelligence, which will be proper), to determine whether the ships intend higher up than this neighborhood, and regulate themselves accordingly.

There is a road out of the Haerlem flat lands that leads up to the hills, and continues down the North River by Bloomingdale, Delancy's, &c., which road I would have them march, as they will keep the river in sight, and pass a tolerable landing-place for troops in the neighborhood of Bloomingdale. This detachment should bring a couple of light field-pieces.

I think two, or even four, pieces of cannon might be spared from Fort Washington to the post over the bridge, but query whether it might not do to run them from

thence when occasion shall seem to require it, as that post never can be attacked without sufficient notice to do this. Colonel Knox will have four carriages ready for that place immediately, if we have not other employment upon hand, which General Putnam, who is this instant come in, seems to think we assuredly shall, this day, as there is a considerable embarkation on board of the enemy's boats. I shall, therefore, only add that you should delay no time in forming your detachment for our aid, or your own defence, as circumstances may require.

Yours, &c., in haste,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, Kingsbridge.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK,
Aug. 26, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — I have now before me your letters of the 23d and 24th of this inst., with respect to the detachment I directed on the 23d. I conceive it to be highly expedient that they be kept in the most perfect readiness to act, as the circumstances of affairs may render necessary. The present appearance of things seems to indicate an intention in the enemy to make their capital impression on the side of Long Island; but this may possibly be only a feint, to draw over our troops to that quarter, in order to weaken us here. As to the floating bridge you have mentioned for keeping open the communication on Haerlem River, I entirely approve of the application of the fire-rafts to that purpose, provided they will answer the design to which you intend to convert them. I should think that a general or garrison court-martial at your quarters, for the trial of offenders (in cases not capital), would be useful and proper. The Quartermaster-General informs me he has sent up a person last week for the purpose of securing the sails and rigging taken from the vessels lately sunk near Mount Washington.

I have spoken to some gentlemen on the subject of Hardenburgh's death, who (I make no doubt) will convey the account to his brother.

I am, sir, your most obedient,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, Kingsbridge.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK,
Aug. 31st, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your letter of this day, and concur with you in sentiment as to the probability of the enemy's endeavoring to land their forces at Hunt's Point, or some place not far distant from it. In order to prevent such an attempt from being carried into execution, I have sent up General Mifflin with the troops he brought from your quarters, strengthened by a reinforcement. With this assistance, I hope you will be able to defeat their intentions. I beg you will exert yourself to the utmost of your abilities on this momentous occasion. In particular, I must request of you that the *chevaux de frise* be immediately sunk. Was it in my power to send you Colonel Putnam, I would willingly comply with your request; but we have so much business for him here, that he cannot by any means be spared. Colonel Knox has directed Captain Bryan to go up immediately. He recommends him as a good officer, and equal to any that he has in the artillery. As to passes signed by colonels of regiments, they are not to be permitted. None but those under the hand of a brigadier-general, or one of superior rank, are to have any regard paid to them, unless you hear something farther from me on that subject.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath.

New York, Sept. 1st, 1776.

Sir, — I received your favor of this date, and intend this evening to go to Haerlem and see whether the situation of things will admit of the several detachments and dispositions you mention, so that every place necessary to be maintained should have measures taken for their defence. I should suppose that Hutchinson's regiment, and the three hundred men you say are at Mount Washington, will do to garrison it for the present, and will be equal to any force that will be brought against it, if they keep a good look-out and do not suffer a surprise. This you must strongly press upon them to guard against.

As it is of great consequence to gain intelligence of the enemy's designs, and of their intended operations, I cannot but recommend your attention to this subject, and that you will concert some measures with General Clinton for establishing a channel of information. I apprehend that his general acquaintance with most of the people in the Colony will give him an opportunity of fixing upon suitable persons, and in whom a confidence may be reposed, to embark in this business, and who, from their connections on the island and the assistance of their friends there, might obtain frequent accounts that would be useful and of great advantage. Perhaps some might be got who are really Tories, for a reasonable reward, to undertake it. Those who are friends would be preferable, if they could manage it as well. I will not add more upon the subject, but heartily wish you and General Clinton could fall upon some mode to carry into execution a scheme of this sort.

We are in extreme want here of a number of horses and teams to transport baggage, &c., from place to place, and therefore have enclosed a warrant authorizing you, or

any substituted by you, to impress them. If they can be procured immediately by hiring, it would be better; but, if not, I beg you will take the most early means to send them down by impressing them. They must be had at all events.

If there is a possibility of procuring boats for Haerlem River, it shall be done.

I am, sir, your humble servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To the HON. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH,
near Kingsbridge.

NEW YORK, Sept. 6th, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — The present posture of our affairs, the season of the year, and many other reasons which might be urged, render it indispensably necessary that some systematic plan should be formed, and as far as possible pursued, by us. I therefore desire that immediately upon receipt of this letter you will let Generals Mifflin and Clinton know that I desire to see them, with you, at this place (headquarters), at eight o'clock to-morrow morning. Let them know (which may be done by showing them each this letter) the business they are called together for, in order that their thoughts may be turned as much as possible to the subject.

It might be well for neither of you to mention your coming hither (lest, if the enemy should have notice of the generals being absent from their posts, some advantages might be taken of it), but it will be very proper to leave directions with the next officers in command, in case an enemy should appear, what they are to do, that no confusion may arise.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient,

G.º WASHINGTON.

P. S. Do not fail to bring exact returns of the two brigades with you, — and the two Jersey regiments at

Fort Washington; a perfect knowledge of our strength being indispensably necessary to the determining upon any plan.

To Major-General Heath,
at Kingsbridge.

Headquarters, New York,
Sept. 8th, 1776.

Dear Sir, — I have lately received information (on which I can, in some measure, rely) that it is impracticable for carriages to pass from Haerlem Point, or any of the landing-places contiguous to it, towards Kingsbridge, any other way than along the public roads. I should therefore conceive it would be highly expedient to throw every impediment and obstruction in the ways leading from the above-mentioned places, as also in the roads leading from Morrisania and Delancy's Mills, and indeed any other which you conceive there is a probability of the enemy's making use of, in order to prevent, or at least delay them, in the conveyance of their artillery. In some places, it may be necessary to fell trees across the roads; in others, I would recommend deep pits to be dug; in short, I must request you will have them broke up and destroyed in such a manner as to render them utterly impassable. N. B. I mean those roads within your district leading from Kingsbridge down to the points on which it is supposed the enemy will land.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

Go. Washington.

P. S. As the money is now arrived, you will order to be delivered in all the pay abstracts for July and August.

To Major-General Heath, Kingsbridge.

New York, Sept. 13th, 1776.

Dear Sir, — Before this letter can reach you, the brigade under Colonel Chester's command no doubt has reached you; but, unless more assistance of waggons and teams are sent, I cannot undertake to say when you will get a further reinforcement. Let me entreat, therefore, that General Clinton and yourself will exert yourselves in getting, by impressment or otherwise, a parcel of teams to come to our assistance.

The brigades which I mean to send to you are these following, and which I mention, that your disposition of them may be thought of in time, taking into consideration that Shea's, Magaw's, and Haslett's will return to their former station at Mount Washington, under the immediate command of their old brigadier, Mifflin; but, in lieu of these regiments, it is possible, when we get removed from hence, you may get an equivalent number:

	Officers.	Rank and File.
Parsons's	400	1,221
Scott	284	963
Wadsworth	334	1,195
Fellows	272	1,122
Silliman	367	677
Douglass	347	744
Chester	513	1,178
Total	2,517	7,100
		2,517
		9,617

I must also beg that you will have the vessels that go up with stores, &c., immediately despatched back to this place. You cannot conceive how we are put to it for conveniences to transport the sick, the stores, the baggage, &c. In short, we are hazarding every thing in a confused way. Let there be the more vigilant look-out kept. You

knew, I suppose, that four more ships, two of them forty odd guns, are gone up the East River.

I am your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

The waggons, some of which have taken [the] sick, contrary to orders, are to be sent back immediately. We shall want every waggon here.

Sept. 14th, 1776.

Reinforcements are marching to me.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, Kingsbridge.

HEADQUARTERS, COLONEL MORRIS'S,
Sept. 17th, 1776.

Some advices lately received from Paulus Hook have made it necessary that Colonel Williams's regiment should march to that post as a reinforcement to Colonel Durkee. It will be proper, therefore, they should be immediately put in motion towards Mount Washington, where they are to cross. Your humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, COLONEL MORRIS'S,
Sept. 18th, 1776.

SIR, — I have now your letter of September 18th before me, and cannot say that I by any means approve of your proposal of sending artillery to annoy the frigate and the enemy's batteries on Montresor's Island: in my opinion, it would only endanger the loss of our cannon and waste our ammunition, without answering any one good or salutary purpose.

With respect to the sick, I am as much afflicted at their situation as you or any other person can possibly be, and have taken every step in my power to prevent it. I have furnished money to officers chosen by the commanders of

different regiments, for the purpose of providing suitable and proper accommodations for the convalescent; and, as to the others, I have this morning spoke to Doctor McKnight on the subject, and have recommended in the strongest manner to him to fall upon every method the nature of the case will admit of for their relief; and I request you will give him every assistance in your power towards effecting this salutary end.

I have ordered over to you Parsons's, Scott's, and Sergent's brigades, to which will be added Colonel Ward's regiment; and Haslet's, Shea's, McGaw's, and Atlee's battalions are to come to this place: you will post these brigades in the most advantageous manner. For the present, I do not conceive you are in any great danger of being attacked on that quarter, as I have received intelligence that the enemy have drawn over their principal force to this island.

I am, sir, your humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, Kingsbridge.

COLONEL MORRIS'S AT HAERLEM,
Sept. 26th, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — I should be glad if you would order General Saltonstall to draw as much powder as will complete his militia to about fifteen or eighteen rounds a man; as also lead, if they have it not; and cartridge paper, that they may make their own cartridges. At the same time, let him know, and desire him to impress it strongly upon the minds of his men, that they must account for every load which is not used in action.

Be so good as to request, in my name, General Clinton's attendance at headquarters with you at nine o'clock this forenoon, on the business I mentioned to you yesterday. I am, sir, your most obedient,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath, Kingsbridge.

Haerlem Heights, 9th Oct., 1776.

Dear Sir, — Your letter of yesterday is before me, with the list enclosed; but this is doing the matter by halves only, and the delay must inevitably defeat the end, as it is impossible, from the nature of things, that the different governments can withhold the nomination of officers much longer. I therefore entreat you to delay not a moment's time in summoning the officers (under sanction from me) to consider of this matter, that the lists may be forwarded. The committee of Congress directed this. General Lincoln earnestly recommended it. Governor Trumbull has requested it in precise terms. In short, the good of the service, and our duty, render it necessary, let it be received in never so unfavorable a light (which, by the by, I do not conceive to be the case) by the States they are sent to. I think you would do well to consult the field officers with respect to the captains, &c. I beseech you once more to delay no time. And I beseech you to exhort the officers you consult to lay aside all local prejudices and attachments in their choice. The salvation of their country, and all we are contending for, depends (under Providence) upon a good choice of officers, to make this army formidable to the enemy and serviceable to the cause we are endeavoring to support. Men who have endeavored to support the character of officers, and who have not placed themselves upon a level with the common soldiery, are fit to be preferred. Officers of the latter class will never — in short, they cannot — conduct matters with propriety; but I need not point out the qualifications necessary to constitute a good officer: your own observations and good judgment will readily point out who are, and who are not, fit for the new appointment. I would have you confine yourself to the Massachusetts Bay officers.

Enclosed, you have some lists handed in to me by General Greene, which may be attended to with the rest. Enclosed, also, you will receive the opinion and report of Colonel Knox and Colonel Putnam respecting our works of defence, which, so far as relates to your department, I shall have no objection to the execution of, with all possible despatch. Those on the island we will attend to.

I have approved the sentences of the court, and desire you will order them to be executed.

I am, with respect, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HAERLEM HEIGHTS, 11th Oct., 1776.

DEAR SIR, — The ships which have got up the river with their tenders (and now two of our row-galleys) must be well attended to, or they may undertake something against our stores, craft, &c., at Spiten Devil. Delay no time, therefore, in having some work thrown up at the mouth of that creek for the defence of what lies within, and to prevent surprises.

A small number of troops embarked on Long Island yesterday (behind Montresor's Island), and appeared to steer to the eastward. How far they went I know not. They were Hessians, and of those I saw not more than a hundred.

It might not be amiss to inform General Lincoln of this, but in such a manner as to occasion a good look-out along the Sound without spreading an alarm.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

SIR, — The uncertainty with respect to the designs of the enemy renders any disposition of our army at this time a little unsettled; but, for the present, your Division,

with such troops as are now at Forts Constitution, Montgomery, and Independence, are to be under your command, and remain in this quarter for the security of the above posts and the passes through the Highlands from this place, and the one on the west side of Hudson's River. Colonel Tash's regiment is meant to be included in this command.

Unnecessary it is for me to say any thing to evince the importance of securing the land and water communication through these passes, or to prove the indispensable necessity of using every exertion in your power to have such works erected for the defence of them as your own judgment, assisted by that of your Brigadiers and the Engineer, may shew the expediency of.

To form an accurate judgment of the proper places to fortify, in order effectually to secure the two land passes above-mentioned through the Highlands, requires a considerable degree of attention and knowledge of the roads and ways leading through the hills. These you must get from information and observation, as my stay here will not allow me to give any direction on this head with precision.

You will not only keep in view the importance of securing these passes, but the necessity of doing it without delay, not only from the probability of the enemy's attempting to seize them, but from the advanced season, which will not admit of any spade work after the frost (which may be daily expected) sets in. Lose not a moment's time, therefore, in choosing the grounds on the east and west side of the river, on which your intended works are to be erected. Let your men designed for each post be speedily allotted, and by your presence, and otherwise, do every thing to stimulate the officers (respectively commanding at each) to exert themselves in forwarding them.

The cheapest kind of barracks must be erected, contig-

uous to these places, where no covering now is for the men. These may, I should think, be built of logs, and made warm at very little cost. In apportioning your men to the different posts (those to be established, as well as those already fixed on the river), I advise your keeping the corps as much as possible together, and also desire that in this allotment you will consult your officers, and such gentlemen as have it in their power (from their superior knowledge of the country) to afford you good advice.

Independent of the barracks, which may be found necessary for the men at the posts before-mentioned, I should think others ought to be built at such places in this neighborhood as the Quartermaster-General and Engineer shall point out, as this must, from the nature of it, be considered in an important point of view, and as well adapted for winter quarter for part of the army as any other place can be.

If, contrary to the general received opinion, General Howe's remove to Dobbs's Ferry was only intended as a feint to draw off part of our force from the place which we last occupied, and should [he] make an attempt upon General Lee, you are to give him all the aid you can, taking care at the same time to keep guard in the posts and passes you occupy.

For the speedy and regular punishment of officers, you are hereby authorized and empowered, whilst you remain in a separate camp, to hold general courts-martial, and carry the judgments of them into execution in all cases whatsoever.

Be particularly careful of all intrenching tools, tents (seeing that the bottoms of them are not covered with dirt), and above all take care that no discharged soldier is suffered to carry away any of the public arms or accoutrements. Apply to the Commissary of stores for a list of those things furnished to the respective Colonels of regi-

ments, and see that they account for them before the men are dismissed. In like manner should every thing had of the Quartermaster-General be delivered up.

Keep persons employed in making of cartridges, and be particularly attentive that the stores are taken care of, and the powder kept from receiving damage. Also prevent the soldiery from committing any kind of waste and injuries to private or public property.

The men which composed the detachment under Colonel Lasher are all to join their respective corps immediately.

G° WASHINGTON.

Given at Headquarters, at Peekskill,
this 12th day of Nov., 1776.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH,
at White Plains.

GENERAL GREENE'S QUARTERS,
Nov. 14th, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — As an exchange of prisoners is likely to take effect as soon as the circumstances of the case will admit, and as in the course of the transaction it may possibly happen that an attempt may be made by the enemy to redeem their prisoners by men in their possession who were never engaged in our service, I must request you to direct the colonels or commanders of regiments in your division immediately to make out an exact list of the particular officers and privates who have been killed, taken prisoners, or are missing, in the respective regiments and companies to which they belonged, specifying the names of the whole, and the time when each officer and soldier was killed, taken prisoner, or was missing.

The list, as soon as it is completed, you will transmit to headquarters.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To General Heath.

General Greene's Quarters,
16th Nov., 1776.

Dear Sir, — You will perceive by the enclosed resolves that Congress have entered into some new regulations respecting the enlistment of the new army, and reprobating the measures adopted by the State of Massachusetts Bay for raising their quota of men.

As every possible exertion should be used for recruiting the army as speedily as may be, I request that you immediately publish in orders that an allowance of a dollar and one third of a dollar will be paid to the officers for every soldier they shall enlist, whether in or out of camp; also, that it will be optional in the soldiers to enlist during the continuance of the war, or for three years, unless sooner discharged by Congress. In the former case, they are to receive all such bounty and pay as have been heretofore mentioned in orders. Those who engage for the latter time (that of three years) are not to receive the bounty in land. That no mistakes may be made, you will direct the recruiting officers from your division to provide two distinct enlisting rolls, one for those to sign who engage during the war, the other for those who enlist for three years, if their service shall be so long requested.

I am sorry to inform you that this day, about 12 o'clock, the enemy made a general attack upon our lines about Fort Washington, which having carried, the garrison retired within the fort. Colonel Magaw, finding there was no possibility of a retreat across the North River, over to Fort Lee, surrendered the post. We do not yet know our own loss or that of the enemy in forcing the lines, but I imagine it must have been considerable on both sides, as the fire in some parts was of long continuance and heavy. Neither do I know the terms of

capitulation. The force of the garrison before the attack was about two thousand men.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. It will be well to furnish every Colonel in your division with that part of the enclosed resolves which respect the enlistments, that no mistakes may happen. The letter for the Convention you will send by the first opportunity.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH,
at Peekskill.

NEWARK, Nov. the 24th, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — By the negligent and infamous conduct of the post rider, the eastern mail of Friday was brought to Herkimer, and there stopped, to fall into the enemy's hands. Supposing it may have contained some letters from you to me on public business, I have thought it proper to give you this notice, that you may guard against any advantages the enemy may expect to derive from the accident.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH,
at Peekskill.

HEADQUARTERS, BRUNSWIC,
29th Nov., 1776.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 26th overtook me a few miles from this place, where I arrived this day at noon. The enemy gave us not the least interruption upon our march. I am glad to hear that the stores that were at Tappan and Slott's landing are all got safely up: I hope you will have the same good luck with the flour.

I approve of the steps you have taken to keep the Tories, in the neighborhood of your post, in order, and

also of your offers of assistance to the State of New York in obstructing the passage of the North River above Fort Constitution. It is an object of so much consideration, that I think too much attention cannot be paid to it.

I hope you will be able to prevail upon Scott's brigade to remain with you some little time beyond their engagement: if the recruiting service goes on with tolerable success, their numbers will soon be replaced by that means. I am led to expect considerable reinforcements from Pennsylvania and this State. I shall be in want of them, as the time of the flying camp from Jersey and Maryland expires to-morrow, and I fear few will be induced to stay longer. If the reinforcements are equal to my expectations, I hope I shall at least be able to prevent a further penetration of the enemy who have already got too great a footing in this part of the country.

Mr. Palfrey has orders to advance to the Colonels, who are appointed and have agreed to remain in the service, such sums of money as are necessary for the bounties of the new enlisted men.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

SIR, — You are, upon receipt of this, to cross the North River with the troops under your command in the Continental service, — to wit, Parsons's brigade, — and move on so as to give all possible protection to the country and vigor to the cause. If you could move on towards Morristown, in New Jersey, it would be best, as by this means a junction may be made, if necessary, and at all events such a movement would attract attention.

I am, in haste, your obedient, humble servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

TRENTON, Dec. 7, 1776.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, near Trenton Falls,
Dec. 12th, 1776.

Dear Sir, — Your letter of the 8th instant has come duly to hand, and am glad to hear that Gayton's, Bond's, and Porter's regiments are coming forward to join me; at the same time I must acknowledge I should have been much better satisfied, if they had contained a greater number of men than what you have mentioned: your sending them on with all possible expedition was exceedingly proper; indeed, no time is to be lost, as the necessity of our affairs at present requires an immediate augmentation of our forces.

I have observed in your letter, you have mentioned the arrival of Generals Gates and Arnold, at Goshen, with Patterson's, Stark's, Poor's, and Read's regiments, but have not mentioned whether they are on their march to join us: though I conjecture that this is the case from the route they have taken. As every thing ought to be attempted for the preservation of Philadelphia, I hope these troops will make all imaginable haste to get here in time to be of service.

Our situation at present, in this quarter, is truly critical: our army (as you have been informed) has been greatly diminished; the troops composing the flying-camp have mostly gone home, and we have as yet received but very little assistance, except from the Philadelphia militia. The enemy, under the command of Generals Howe, Cornwallis, and Vaughan, amounting to about twelve thousand men, are posted at Trenton, Pennytown, and downwards towards Bordentown, waiting for an opportunity to cross over. Their views are to get possession of Philadelphia: however, it is very probable they will considerably extend them, unless we can procure a sufficient force to oppose their progress.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. Please to forward the enclosed to Governor Trumbull as soon as possible.

With respect to the officers of one State enlisting the soldiers of another, it is not to be allowed of; and, as to the convalescents mentioned in your letter, you may use your own discretion.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, at Keith's,
Dec. 14th, 1776.

Dear Sir, — I last night received your favor of the 10th inst. I am extremely pleased by the ready attention you have paid to my orders, and have only to request that you will proceed with your troops with all possible expedition to Pittstown, pursuing General Lee's route, and where I expect you will join him. You will not lose a moment. The situation of our affairs demands industry and despatch on all hands. Advise me from time to time of your approach, and use your best endeavors to accommodate your troops, and for obtaining proper supplies of provisions. Supposing the account in Gaine's paper to be true, and that General Howe has sent a detachment to the eastward, I am led to conclude from your letter that you would be advanced so far this way before you could receive counter orders, that the return of your troops could not afford much assistance, as their time of service would be near expiring, if not entirely out, before they could arrive. Here, if we can collect our force speedily, I should hope we may effect something of importance, or at least give our affairs such a turn as to make them assume a more promising aspect than they now have.

I am, dear sir, very respectfully, your most obedient,

Go. Washington.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, near Corryel's Ferry,
Dec. 16th, 1776.

Sir, — I received your favor of the eleventh instant, advising me of the march of Parsons's brigade from Peekskill to join us. I am now to acquaint you that, from information received of the enemy's movements, it appears to me that they intend leaving this part of the country, and to retire towards Brunswic and the towns contiguous to it, perhaps for the purpose of going into winter quarters, unless indeed the whole should be intended as a feint. There does not, therefore, appear the same necessity for your advancing, as was conjectured at the time my orders for your marching were determined on. For this reason (as well as on account of the danger which the State of New York would be exposed to, and which the Convention has represented to me by their letter) I should conceive it to be expedient for you to return with Parsons's brigade to your former station: these troops you are to post in the most advantageous manner to answer the purposes of defending the country from the incursions of the enemy and of curbing the insolence of the disaffected. However, previous to your departure from the Jerseys, I entirely agree with you in sentiment, that the troops cannot be better employed than in surprising any of the enemy's posts, either at Hackinsac or the parts adjacent that are so situated as to admit of a strong probability of success. An enterprise of this sort will encourage our friends and advance the recruiting service, which is a matter of infinite importance. As to Colonel Vose, with Greaton's, Bond's, and Porter's regiments, I would choose they should move forwards to join General Gates.

With respect to the families of Mr. Inglis and Mr. Moor, who are desirous of going to New York, I cannot perceive

any political objection, as I should suppose they are capable of doing less mischief there, than by remaining in the country and giving intelligence to the enemy. They ought, however, to be informed that they will, on no account, be permitted to return.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

N. B. I beg you will encourage and advance the recruiting service by every means in your power. I shall, in a short time, send you money for the different recruiting officers.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, 17th Dec., 1776.

DEAR SIR, — Yesterday I received a letter from the Council of the State of Massachusetts, by Major Shaw, informing me he had in charge a few Indians from Nova Scotia, who were enlisted into the Continental service: as they will be of no use to me here, I have directed Mr. Shaw to deliver them into your care, and request you will employ them in such a manner as you may judge most advantageous to the service, and continue them under your command till you hear further from me.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. The Indians may join those that came before, that one interpreter may serve, and the waggon and horses which attended them, and bought at the public expense, may be applied to the public use. G. W.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, at Keith's,
Dec. 21st, 1776.

Dear Sir, — I have been favored with yours of the 13th inst., and wish you may have succeeded in your intended scheme to dislodge the enemy from Hackinsac Bridge.

In my letter of the 18th, I transmitted you a copy of a letter from the Council of the Massachusetts Bay, advising that six thousand men were coming from that State, under General Lincoln, to supply the place of the militia which had returned home, and of their troops, whose time of service will soon expire. At the time of writing, I thought it probable that their reinforcement might be ordered to the State of Rhode Island, in case of an invasion, and which I find has actually taken place; and therefore did not so strenuously urge that it should be sent here. Indeed, I had then hopes, from the information I had received, that a large proportion of the eastern troops who were marching to join me had re-enlisted; but, to my great distress and mortification, I find the report to have been without the least foundation, and that, in the course of a few days, I am to be left with a handful of men. I therefore request, that if these troops have come on to Peekskill, and also the four battalions which I am advised by Governor Trumbull have been raised in Connecticut, to serve till the 15th of March next, that, after securing the passes and fortifications in the Highlands, with a sufficient number (which I should imagine need not exceed twelve or fifteen hundred men at farthest), besides the force which I apprehend will be provided for the purpose by the Convention of New York, you will forward on all the rest with the utmost expedition, to join such troops as I may be able to collect for the defence of Philadelphia. That city is now the object of the enemy's designs. Let

me entreat you to impress the officers and men with a due sense of its importance in the present contest for our liberty, and that without their speedy and early arrival it may be lost. I am persuaded these considerations will be duly regarded, and urge them on to every possible exertion. As yet but few succors belonging to this State have come in, nor do I hear that many are in motion. When they hear that other States are applied to, and pushing in aids for their defence, perhaps they will arouse from that lethargy which now keeps them back against the most pressing calls of interest. In a word, sir, my situation, and that of our cause, is critical and truly alarming. Without vigorous exertions and early succors, I do not see what reasonable hope there will be to preserve Philadelphia from falling into the enemy's hands. They will attempt to possess it as soon as the Delaware is so frozen as to admit of their passage. Appearances and many concurring reports agree in this.

I have received yours of the 15th, and am happy to hear of your success at Hackinsac. The stores you got will be of great service.

By a letter just received from General McDougall, I find he has been much indisposed, and is now at Morristown. I intend to write him to return to Peekskill to conduct matters in that department with General George Clinton, requesting you and General James Clinton to come on with the eastern troops which I have mentioned, if they have arrived at Peekskill, and it should be necessary for him to come.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G. W.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, New Town,
Dec. 28th, 1776.

Dear Sir, — Your favor of the 21st instant has come duly to hand, in which you have mentioned the receipt of my letters of the 16th and 18th of this month. I now enclose to you a duplicate of the one dated the 21st, lest that should have miscarried.

I have the pleasure of congratulating you upon the success of an enterprise which I had formed against a detachment of the enemy lying in Trenton, and which was executed yesterday morning. The evening of the 25th, I ordered the troops intended for this service, which were about two thousand four hundred, to parade back of McKonkey's Ferry, that they might begin to pass as soon as it grew dark, imagining we should be able to throw them all over, with the necessary artillery, by twelve o'clock, and that we might easily arrive at Trenton by five in the morning, the distance being about nine miles; but the quantity of ice made that night impeded the passage of the boats so much that it was three o'clock before the artillery could all be got over, and near four before the troops took up their line of march. This made me despair of surprising the town, as I well knew we could not reach it before the day was fairly broke; but, as I was certain there was no making a retreat without being discovered and harassed on repassing the river, I determined to push on at all events. I formed my detachment into two divisions, one to march by the lower or river road, the other by the upper or Pennytown road. As the divisions had nearly the same distance to march, I ordered each of them, immediately upon forcing the out-guards, to push directly into the town, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. The upper division arrived at the enemy's advanced post exactly at eight o'clock, and in three minutes after I found from the fire

on the lower road that that division had also got up. The out-guards made but small opposition, though for their numbers they behaved very well, keeping up a constant retreating fire from behind houses. We presently saw their main body formed, but from their motions seemed undetermined how to act. Being hard pressed by our troops, who had already got possession of part of their artillery, they attempted to file off by a road on their right leading to Princeton; but, perceiving their intentions, I threw a body of men in their way, which immediately checked them. Finding, from our disposition, that they were surrounded, and that they must inevitably be cut to pieces if they made any resistance, they agreed to lay down their arms. The number that submitted in this manner were twenty-three officers, with seven others who were found wounded in the town. I don't exactly know how many they had killed, but I fancy not above twenty or thirty, as they never made any regular stand. Our loss is trifling, — only two officers and one or two privates wounded. I find that the detachment of the enemy consisted of three regiments, — to wit, of Lanspach, Knyphausen, and Rahl, — amounting to about fifteen hundred men, and a troop of light horse; but, immediately on the beginning of the attack, all those who were not killed or taken pushed directly down the road towards Bordentown. These would likewise have fallen into our hands, could my plan have been completely carried into execution. General Ewing was to have crossed before day at Trenton Ferry, and taken possession of the bridge leading out of town; but the quantity of ice was so great, that, though he did every thing in his power to effect it, he could not get over. This difficulty also hindered General Cadwallader from crossing with the Pennsylvania militia from Bristol. He got part of his foot over; but, finding it impossible to embark his artillery, he was obliged to desist. I am confident that, could the troops under Generals Cadwallader

and Ewing have passed the river, I should have been able with their assistance to have driven the enemy from all their posts below Trenton; but the number I had with me being inferior to theirs below me, and a strong battalion of light infantry at Princeton, I thought it most prudent to return the same evening with my prisoners and the artillery we had taken. We found no stores of any consequence in the town. In justice to the officers and men, I must add that their behavior on this occasion reflects the highest honor upon them. The difficulty of passing the river in a very severe night, and their march through a violent storm of snow and hail, did not in the least abate their ardor, but after they came to the charge seemed to vie with each other in pressing forward; and, was I to give a preference to any particular corps, I should do great injustice to the others.

I some time ago mentioned to you the importance of attacking the enemy's detached posts, when it can be done with a good prospect of success. The best of consequences must result from their being harassed on every occasion on that quarter.

With respect to the stores you have taken, you must use your own discretion. You can certainly judge with greater propriety what is to be done than I can, who am so far distant.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. I must request you will forward the militia with all possible expedition.

The prisoners we have taken amount in number to nine hundred and eighteen, of which thirty are officers. We have also got about one thousand stand of arms, four standards, and six brass pieces of artillery.

To Major-General Heath.

Trenton, 31st Dec., 1776.

Dear Sir, — I just now received your favor of the 26th, and am sorry General Wadsworth's brigade should have left the stores in such a situation. I hope you have secured them all.

I had flattered myself that many of the eastern troops, if not the whole, had got to Peekskill before the date of your letter. I refer you to my last for what I would have done with them, and only shall add on that subject, that I wish you to proceed with them as fast as possible, leaving proper guards for the several passes, &c., as before directed.

In respect to the regiments which you mention, I confess there is much difficulty, nor will the situation of our affairs at this time allow me to deliberate on a remedy. All the colonels are drawing, and I doubt not will forward, the pay of those who are divided from them. Such parts of the regiments as are here I trust will stay a month longer. Some have engaged to do it; and I would fain hope in that time, with a moderate share of fortune, to give our affairs a more promising aspect than they have worn of late. If you can devise a mode by which the men may be relieved, I shall be glad, and it will be complied with.

Your exertions to secure the arms, accoutrements, ammunition, &c., cannot be too great. It must be done. You need not take any notice of the order for stopping a dollar from those who had arms found them. The stoppage would be of little consequence to the States, and an injury to individuals, many of whom, perhaps, had it not in their power to procure arms.

Before this, I expect some of Colonel Knox's officers will have got to Peekskill, having been sent to recruit for the artillery, and with proper instructions respecting that department, and that also of the artificers.

To induce the officers and soldiery to exert themselves, and to distress the enemy, all plunder, stores, &c., taken, are to be divided equally between those who take it, having regard to the pays of the parties concerned, to regulate the distribution. That this may be done equitably, the whole of the plunder, &c., is to be returned to the Quartermaster-General or the Deputy-Quartermaster, where they are, who will distribute it, paying the full value of whatever may be retained for the public.

I am, dear sir, very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. WASHINGTON.

P. S. The order about plunder and stores does not extend to any but that belonging to the enemy, and not to Tory property. Had that been allowed, the effects of many good, stanch, worthy persons would have fallen a sacrifice. You are requested to forward the enclosed.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
12th Jan., 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I have yours of the 9th, enclosing the proceedings of the court-martial who sat upon Strang. In my opinion, the sentence should be confirmed and executed.

It gives me great pleasure to find that your troops are in so great forwardness to move down on both sides of the river. I think the diversion which you will create will be attended with the most happy consequences to us, and distress to the enemy.

Forage for the winter will be one of their greatest wants; and I highly approve of your intentions of collecting all you can, not only to put it out of their reach, but as it will be most serviceable to us.

You were certainly right in retaining the artillerymen

upon the bounty of ten dollars. By the time the six weeks expire, I hope we shall have a sufficient number of new recruits.

As I have never intermeddled in the affair of Lady Johnson's confinement, I think the propriety of her enlargement had better be still submitted to the Convention of New York.

Make my compliments to General Lincoln, and inform him that I had the pleasure of his letter of the 9th, and that I am pleased with his continuing with you on the east side of the river.

The flints left at Durham should be forwarded on. You will retain as many at Peekskill as are wanted for your division, and order the remainder on to my army.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
14th Jan., 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I have yours of the 10th. In the settlement for arms, I plainly perceive that the loss is all likely to be thrown upon the public, and I don't know how it is to be avoided. I can only, as I did before, desire you to act up to the best of your judgment in this matter.

If some of those persons who have re-enlisted are in such a situation, on account of their health, that they require a time to recruit themselves, they certainly should be indulged with a furlough; but this favor should be granted with great caution, and where the case really requires it, otherwise it will be claimed by the whole.

You did very right in sending home all the officers that could be spared, to recruit. It is what I have done here. I have even incorporated two or three small corps into one, rather than detain supernumerary officers.

Before I received yours recommending Mr. Huntington, I had appointed him to a majority in a regiment to be commanded by Colonel Webb, my late aide-de-camp.

I beg you will keep me constantly advised of your own situation, and the movements of the enemy on your quarter, that I may regulate my conduct on this side accordingly.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
17th Jan., 1777.

DEAR SIR, — Captain Bell, of Philadelphia, a very intelligent and credible person, made his escape from New York about ten days ago. He informs that there were no troops upon Long Island but Delancey's brigade, and not more than one thousand men upon York Island, all the rest having joined the army now in Jersey; and that transports were gone up the Sound to bring back the troops from Rhode Island, in order to make a junction of their whole army, to endeavour to give us a total defeat. This I think by no means improbable. Now, if you could get any certain information of their strength within the Island (which I think may be done by sending in persons who have taken protections), and should not find it to exceed what Captain Bell reports, a stroke might be struck before they are reinforced from Rhode Island, that would ruin them.

This is a matter of such consequence, that I would have you spare neither pains nor expense to gain intelligence. We have heard that they were building sleds in New York, which I suppose are for drawing wood this winter; but it would be well for your spies to learn what use they are really intended for.

I have directed Generals Spencer and Arnold to follow the enemy if they leave Rhode Island and fall down the Sound again.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
Feb. 2d, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I have not been favored with a line from you since the 24th ult. Anxious for the success of the troops with you, I wish to hear from you frequently. An express may meet with a ready passage across the North River.

While you are lying in that quarter, I would by all means have the forage and provisions removed to some interior parts of the country, entirely out of the enemy's reach; for although the removing it will be attended with greater expense than the same quantity could be laid in for nearer to the grand magazines, yet the loss of it to the enemy will vastly more than counterbalance that consideration. I do not mean that this business should obstruct or retard your military operations; a sufficient number of waggons can do it in security when covered by your troops, though engaged.

'Tis more than probable that the enemy have laid in their magazines on Long Island. I would therefore have you omit no chance of destroying them, but rather that you would industriously court an opportunity of detaching a party for that special purpose. Blows of this sort, frequently repeated now, will effectually prevent their pushing on with vigor the ensuing campaign. Wishing you success,

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Morristown,
Feb. 9th, 1777.

Sir, — I have received your several favors of the 5th, 6th, and 7th inst. What I mentioned to you in a former letter about a second attempt on Fort Independence was intended merely as a hint, on which you might improve, if circumstances should favor. I did not desire that it might interfere with the order to march some of your division this way, unless it should be found highly practicable.

When you arrive at home, you will order such of the Massachusetts Continental troops as are ready to march immediately to Ticonderoga, sending with them all the brigadiers in Continental service residing in that State. Should their quota of the 88 battalions not be complete, and I fear they are not, you will nevertheless forward all such as are recruited, under proper officers, permitting as many to remain as are necessary for the recruiting service.

Proper places are pointed out already to Mr. Hughes, at Peekskill, for the public magazines. To them all stores of every kind must be removed. The forage and provisions taken by any of your parties, in the vicinity of the enemy, should be carried to them.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, Morristown,
13th March, 1777.

Dear Sir, — By my former directions, the fifteen regiments belonging to your State were all ordered to march to Ticonderoga, as soon as they were raised, armed, and equipped. But upon a reconsideration of the matter, founded upon several pieces of intelligence, there is a

probability that the enemy will draw part of their force from Canada by water, as soon as the St. Lawrence is navigable, in order to enable them to make a formidable push towards Philadelphia.

I have therefore thought it best that only seven of your regiments should march to Ticonderoga, and that the remaining eight should rendezvous at Peekskill with all expedition. I have given my reasons, very much at large, to General Schuyler, for this alteration: the principal ones are, that a respectable force at Peekskill secures the passage of the North River, obliges the enemy to leave a considerable garrison in New York, and keeps a body of men in our centre, ready to move north or south, as there may be occasion. Another reason for lessening the number of regiments from your State to Ticonderoga is that two regiments have already marched for that post from the State of New York.

Such of your troops as are intended for Peekskill, and are ready, may proceed immediately, and undergo inoculation there, and in the neighborhood, where you know the barracks are very commodious. Such as are not ready, for want of arms, accoutrements, and clothing, should be immediately inoculated, that they may go through the disorder while these things are preparing.

But I would wish, on many accounts, that a force should be collected as quick as possible at Peekskill. The principal one is, that I am confident the appearance of a regular body there would embarrass the enemy, oblige them to return part of the troops which they have lately withdrawn from New York to Jersey, and thereby create that diversion which I have all along wanted to keep up. As your force that is to go to the northward is lessened, your number of brigadiers will lessen accordingly: you will therefore send two to Peekskill, and the remainder to Ticonderoga. As Brigadier Poor, of New Hampshire (with the troops of that State), will go to the last-men-

tioned place, the hastening the march of them is also to become an object of your attention.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath,
at Boston.

Headquarters, Morristown,
23d March, 1777.

Dear Sir, — I wrote to you the 13th, directing you to order eight of the regiments of your State to march with the greatest expedition to Peekskill. I then gave you my reasons for this alteration of my former orders. Although I called upon you, in the most pressing manner, to hurry the troops on, I cannot help again repeating my distress for the want of men. The general backwardness of the recruiting service, to which must be added the necessary delay of inoculation, makes me very fearful that the enemy will be enabled to take the field, before we can collect a force any ways adequate to making a proper opposition.

I therefore again conjure you to leave no means untried to send those immediately forward who have had the small-pox, and those who have undergone inoculation, as soon as they can with safety undergo the fatigue of the march.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, Morristown,
29th March, 1777.

Dear Sir, — The situation of our affairs again compels me to call upon you in express and positive terms to hasten the troops of your State (those enlisted for the Continent, I mean) to Peekskill and Ticonderoga, in such

proportions as I have before directed, without one moment's loss of time. The enemy have lately, taking advantage of our weakness at Peekskill, made a descent there, burnt the lower barracks, our storehouses, and a valuable parcel of stores. Perhaps, elated by their success, they may return up the river, and proceed as high as the forts, which if they do suddenly and with any tolerable force, I do not see what is to hinder them from making themselves masters of them. Those regiments intended for Peekskill may march immediately thither, and undergo inoculation there, and in the neighborhood, except you think there is any danger of their taking the infection in the natural way as they march through Connecticut.

General Knox has desired me to direct you to pay the abstracts of the artificers at Springfield, as their money becomes due, and also to pay Mr. Jarvis, of Boston, ten thousand dollars, on account of ordnance stores which he has purchased. The money may be obtained from Mr. Hancock, the Deputy Paymaster-General.

I shall expect to hear from you by the post every week, and am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
30th March, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — Since mine of yesterday, I received your favor of the 16th. The fortunate arrival of arms at Portsmouth will remove all difficulties which you labored under for want of them, and I therefore hope that your next will inform me that some of your troops are on their march to Peekskill, as well as to Ticonderoga. You will see the necessity of sending part to Peekskill as quick as possible, by my letter of yesterday.

Major Austin is a gentleman, and a man of sense, and before the unfortunate step at the Plains was esteemed an excellent officer. His excuse for his conduct is certainly, strictly considered, rather an aggravation of his crime; for there cannot be a greater failing in a soldier than drunkenness. This, however, might have been the effect of an unguarded hour: if so, Major Austin has undergone a punishment equal to the offence. But I think I have heard that he is apt to drink: that is a matter that should be fully cleared up before I could consent to his coming into the army again. If, upon inquiry, you find that his general character, before and since, is that of a man of sobriety, I should think he might be intrusted with a commission again.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
5th April, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I am favored with yours of the 25th March. I have had no request, as yet, from the Council of your State, for part of the new-arrived arms, to put into the hands of such of your troops as were ready, and only waited for them; but I desire that as many as are necessary may be immediately drawn, and the troops forwarded, so that there can be no further plea for delay upon that head. One thing I must insist upon, that you do not abate your diligence in collecting the public arms, and having them repaired and deposited in proper places; for although our late supply is large indeed, and may serve our present wants, yet you must remember the number of men we have to arm altogether, and the vast waste and destruction that the course of one of our campaigns occasions.

I am amazed to hear you mention the want of clothing

as one of the delays to the marching of your troops. This is an excuse that I cannot admit of, because, from the accounts which I have seen from the agents for purchasing and providing clothing in Massachusetts, there were as many ready, two months ago, as would serve your quota of men. I am convinced that officers, unwilling to leave their quarters, will make every excuse to prolong the time of staying with their families and friends; and I have, for that reason, fixed general officers at all the places where the troops are drawn together, to see that they remain no longer there than is absolutely necessary to equip the men. I therefore desire that you will inquire very minutely into these matters, and, whenever you find that the arms and accoutrements are ready, insist upon the officers marching with the men to the places of destination, without admitting of any excuse whatever.

General Schuyler, who is now here, has given me the following route for the troops that are to march from Massachusetts to this quarter, which, he informs me, will be saving one hundred miles by land, and which I desire may be put in practice by those who are not already on their way.

"Such of the regiments from the Massachusetts Bay as may be ordered to the Jerseys, and whose rendezvous is not in the south-eastern part of that State, to march through the Green Woods to Kinderhook, Claverack, or Red Hook, on Hudson's River; the officers commanding each of these regiments to send before him to the commanding officer at Albany a return of their numbers, requesting that vessels may be sent to either of the above places, as they shall direct, to carry them down to Fort Montgomery."

Orders will be sent to the commanding officer at Albany to comply with the above requisition, and to put on board the vessels eight days' provision for the numbers returned to him.

Brigadier-General James Clinton, or the officer commanding at Fort Montgomery, will keep spy-boats down the river, to keep a look-out, and see that none of the enemy's armed vessels are in Haverstraw Bay. If that should be clear, the troops may proceed down the river, and disembark at Peekskill or in Jersey, as there may be occasion.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

MORRISTOWN, April 10th, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I have, within these few days, received an application from the honorable Messrs. Seaver and Cushing for arms and blankets, for the use of the Massachusetts regiments, destined for Ticonderoga. Surely those troops are not, at this day, to begin their march for that post. And sorry I am to observe that nothing now will content that government but the new arms lately arrived there, which will be greatly wanted for troops that cannot otherwise be provided, when I have abundant reason to believe that no State upon the Continent has it so much in her power to furnish these articles as that of Massachusetts Bay. Indeed, I am informed that arms and other military stores are hoarding up in that government, which makes every thing of the kind exceedingly difficult to be had for Continental use, and has the appearance of a separate provision.

That no delay, however, may happen, I have informed those gentlemen that you would be instructed to issue orders for such a number of arms as shall appear to you absolutely necessary; and this power I now give you, requesting at the same time that it may be used with a regard to the general good. The means of procuring them through other channels should still be pursued.

With respect to the blankets, the clothier-general, to whom I have written, must direct, as I do not care to interfere in his department.

Those gentlemen have also written to me concerning some powder, due from the continent to the State of Massachusetts, — about fifteen tons they say. I really thought this demand had been satisfied long ago, out of the seventy-five tons taken nearly at this time last year. If it has not, I have no objection to returning what has been had for the use of the army; but with respect to that lent to the armed vessels, if it happened since my departure from Boston, I can give no order, as it is not within my department, but comes properly before that of the marine. You must therefore discriminate; and, as I think General Ward was instructed to repay the powder borrowed from the Massachusetts Bay, I wish you to inquire of him and the Commissary of Stores by what means it was neglected.

Let me have the names of the several colonels commanding the fifteen regiments from the State of Massachusetts. Mention them in their order of seniority, and whether the regiments are numbered from the rank of the officers commanding them, or not. Also inform me which regiments come this way, and which go to Ticonderoga. If it does not break in upon any disposition already made, I would have Glover and Patterson come forward with the eight regiments to Peekskill.

The brigade majors for these new corps are not to be appointed till there is duty for them to perform: then, if the Brigadiers will make choice of officers properly qualified, I will confirm them in office; if they do not, I shall exert the powers given me by Congress "to appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier," to put in such as are, as I will not have any gentleman introduced from family connections or local attachments, to the prejudice of the service. Of this you will please, without loss of

time, to give each Brigadier of your State notice. They will excuse me for this intimation, which may imply a reflection, when I add that some very improper choices were made last year, and when it is evident to every gentleman in the smallest degree acquainted with service, that nothing can contribute more to order and regularity in an army than having brigade majors of knowledge, activity, and diligence.

I cannot conclude without again urging you, in explicit and positive terms, to hasten the troops to the several posts assigned them. The delay in marching may prove as fatal as not enlisting the men. We have every reason, from information and observation, to believe that General Howe is upon the point of taking the field, and the troops with which he is to be opposed are yet in their respective States.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
18th April, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I have your favor of the 28th March and 1st of this month. I have, in my several late letters, wrote to you so fully upon the necessity of forwarding the troops to Ticonderoga and Peekskill, that I need only to refer you to them, and to beg your attention to the several matters recommended in them.

You will be kind enough not only to insist upon, but to see that the field-officers do not stay behind their regiments: it is a most scandalous practice, and General Wayne complains of it with great justice. Pray let arms and proper clothes be forwarded to those who marched without them.

I am surprised that Monsieur Faneuil never advised his officers that Congress did not approve of his scheme for

raising a regiment. They have given him the rank of Colonel without pay or rations. You will therefore be pleased to inform the French gentlemen of this, and let them know that, as Congress have not thought proper to approve of their proposals, it is not in my power to provide for them.

Congress have come to the following Resolve respecting the Chevalier de Borre: —

Resolved, That the Chevalier Prudhomme de Borre have the rank and pay of a Brigadier-General in the Army of the United States of America from the 1st day of December last, according to compact made between him and the Honorable Silas Deane, Esq.

I have wrote to Mons. Borre myself, and have desired him to come forward. If the six months was advanced to him by way of gratuity, he must get the matter confirmed by Congress, for I have no power to allow any such thing.

Enclosed you have sundry Resolutions of Congress for the regulation of the paymaster-general's, commissary of musters, and hospital department, and some amendments to the articles of war. You will also observe that the pay of majors of brigade is augmented to fifty dollars per month, and that of chaplain to forty dollars per month, to take place from 12th instant.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

19th.

Yours of the 9th is this moment come to hand. There certainly must be either roguery or gross ignorance in your powder makers, because the powder made in the other States is esteemed better than that imported from Europe. It is a matter of so much importance, that it should be strictly inquired into. If the Continental frigates are ready for sea, they certainly must not wait,

but must have a supply from Mr. Langdon. But where is the necessity of keeping any more of that quantity in your State at present? If the powder manufacturers are made to do their duty, they will soon make up a considerable quantity; and if there should be any appearance of danger, of which I confess I do not at present see the least sign, you may have a supply from the magazine at Springfield. The troops enlisted for three years are entitled to the bounty in land by a Resolve of Congress.

You will perceive, by the printed Resolves sent you this day, that the pay of regimental surgeons is increased to twelve shillings lawful per day.

I am unable to supply your wants of money at present, but will make a representation to Congress, and I would advise Mr. Hancock to do the same. He ought to make timely requisitions to them.

Yours as before,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
2d May, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I was this morning favored with yours of the 21st and 22d instants, containing the pleasing accounts of the late arrivals at Portsmouth and Boston. That of the French ship of war, with artillery and other military stores, is a most valuable acquisition.

It was my intent to have all the arms that were not immediately wanted by the Eastern States removed to Springfield, as a place much safer than Portsmouth, and from whence it would be more convenient to draw them for the supply of such of the troops of the Middle States as might want them. I calculated that there would be about 3,000 to spare, and therefore ordered that quantity. I have wrote to Mr. Langdon to send the remainder yet to Springfield, except he has positive orders to the con-

trary from Congress or the Board of War. And I would advise you immediately to remove all supernumerary continental stores from the town and neighborhood of Boston to Springfield, for we find, from two recent instances, that the enemy are determined to destroy our magazines wherever they are accessible, and that it is impossible for us to prevent them effectually, except apprised of their designs, if our magazines lay near the coast, or even within one day's march of it.

I shall also write to Congress, and press the immediate removal of the artillery and other military stores from Portsmouth.

I would have you forward the twenty-five chests of arms, lately arrived from Martinico, to Springfield.

I agree with you that it is absolutely necessary that it should be fully determined under whose direction all military stores are to be considered. Till this is done, much confusion and many ill consequences may ensue. I shall therefore write to Congress, and hint to them the necessity of fixing this matter in some certain channel.

I have, by direction of Congress, transmitted to the President and Council of your State, and that of New Hampshire, a Resolve, founded upon intelligence of preparations making by General Carleton to pass the Lake and attack Ticonderoga before our force is assembled to oppose them. Congress call upon those States in the most earnest manner to forward their men that are already raised, and to complete their quotas with all expedition. I refer you to my letter to the Council with the Resolve at large, and I am certain you will do every thing in your power to assist them in carrying it into execution.

Eckhart, the person you mention as having been confined by General St. Clair on suspicion, has been released, and I imagine is on his way home.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, Morristown,
10th May, 1777.

Dear Sir, — I have your favor of the 26th and 30th last month. Colonel Conway and the two gentlemen who accompanied him are gone forward to Congress, who, I make no doubt, will provide for them in a manner suitable to their merits.

The Board of War have sent orders to the Continental agents, at Boston, Portsmouth, and Providence, to remove all the military stores, arms, &c., in their possession, from those places, to Springfield in Connecticut, where they are to be subject to my directions.

Upon inquiring of General Knox what quantity of the artillery lately arrived will be wanted in this quarter, he desires that the thirty-one light pieces of Swedish construction, and two pieces of the heavy, may be sent forward as far as Litchfield in Connecticut, where the officer who conducts them will meet his further orders. The remainder of the cannon are to be lodged at Springfield for the present.

The French artificers who came over with the cannon, are to go to Springfield, where they will be taken into employ.

I have mentioned your want of money to Congress, but Mr. Hancock should, in future, make direct application for that purpose some little time before his chest is quite exhausted. I cannot see the necessity of taking twenty men into pay, purposely to guard the magazines at Springfield. There will ever be a number of the Continental troops under the denomination of invalids or convalescents, and some of them may be drawn together for that purpose.

I hope the number of men enlisted in your State far exceeds the returns you made to me in your last, or your quota is not much more than half completed, and I flatter

myself that your Assembly will not oppose your Council, in the mode which they have thought fit to adopt for filling up your battalions.

By some gentlemen of character, who are just come from Boston, I am informed that the officers loiter away their time in a most scandalous manner on their march from Boston to Peekskill. They tell me that there is not a little town upon the road, but you find an officer and ten or a dozen men drinking and gaming in the public houses instead of prosecuting their march to the place of destination. I therefore desire that you will, immediately upon the receipt of this, despatch an active, spirited officer, on whom you can depend, with orders to sweep every town between Boston and Peekskill of the officers and soldiers who are idling away their times in them. And in future, whenever an officer is detached with a party of men, he should have a route given to him, allowing a reasonable time to reach the post to which he is commanded; and, if he is longer upon his march than the time allotted, he ought to account for the reasons of his delay.

I observe that Colonel Putnam's regiment is one of those ordered to Peekskill: as the colonel is himself exceedingly useful in the engineering branch, and as a good deal of that business yet remains to be done at the forts and passes in the Highlands, I beg he may be sent forward as quick as possible, leaving the lieutenant-colonel to complete and bring on the regiment. I don't mean by this that he is to be taken from the regiment, to act separately as an engineer, but that he will be kind enough to assist Generals McDougall and Clinton with his advice, as he has surveyed and explored that country last campaign.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

Go. Washington.

To General Heath.

Morristown, May the 23d, 1777.

Dear Sir, — I received yesterday your two favors of the 11th and 14th instant. I think with you that it will not be entirely prudent to deposit all our stores at one place, not so much from an apprehension that the enemy will penetrate the country to destroy them, as that the whole may not be lost, in case of other unhappy events. I have spoke to General Knox, who will direct what he judges proper to be kept at Brookfield or other secure place. Worcester will be improper for any to be stored at, as it is on a very public road, and moreover is the place marked out by Congress, where prisoners are to be kept. Guards will be essential to the security of the stores, and you must procure them of militia, till the situation of the Continental troops will afford others. I would observe, upon this occasion, that the service derived from them will depend much on the distance they live from the stores. If they are contiguous to or in the neighborhood of them, they will be of but little, if any, advantage, and will employ themselves more in their private and domestic concerns than in their proper duties. Therefore, you should form them out of the more remote militia, whose distance from their homes will not give them an opportunity of absenting themselves from public duty, whilst they are receiving a compensation for it: besides, if the guards are not of the neighboring militia, they will be an additional strength to the place. I would also observe that, where the security of public stores requires them, the proportion of officers to men should be conformable to the enclosed list, copied from a Resolve of Congress, which was made to prevent the abuses from over-officering the militia, whenever they should be employed. You will also cause proper rolls of their names to be regularly returned you.

I can neither see the propriety or necessity of your request for field-pieces. I am persuaded it is well known, at least to the military among us, that the artillery in the army at this time is by no means equal to that we have to oppose, and how essential it is that it should be so. Further, will not applications come from other quarters, of the same nature, were yours granted? You know Connecticut has applied for a part, and why will not the other States? I cannot discriminate, and therefore cannot comply with your request, as that would justify others, and eventually scatter the artillery from New Hampshire to Georgia inclusively, and deprive the army of it. Nor do I apprehend you can have any great use for it, from a persuasion that you have at this time a very respectable field-train ready to act upon any sudden emergency. I shall write Governor Trumbull upon the subject of his request, and am sorry applications should be made, which from their nature cannot be granted.

I am happy to hear the additional regiments have received countenance from the State, and I trust by perseverance and pains the whole will be completed. I hope for a continuance of your exertions. The situation of our affairs demands the aid of every friend and lover of his country.

The prisoners returned from New York, which you mention, I wish to have your attention. At present, I see no better mode to be pursued than for their officers to make up abstracts, specifying their names, and the pay that is due them, to which they must subjoin an affidavit purporting that the pay stated in the abstract is due the men, and was not in the whole or any part contained or drawn for in any former abstract. They should be allowed till they returned to their homes, and at the rate of twenty miles for every day travelling thither after they landed. I know of no provision for men who are detained by sickness after their service expired, nor do I see any

just cause for demanding it. Their travel home and wages at the usual rate of twenty miles to a day are all they can possibly claim. But there should be care lest frauds should be committed in this instance. Such as have this demand should be included in an abstract by their officers and an affidavit annexed, that they had neither received their claims, nor were they comprehended or drawn for in the regimental abstracts. The men, too, should swear to their demands, in the instances I have mentioned them to be allowed; as several who were left sick have obtained warrants for their wages and travel home.

The conduct of those who desert and receive double bounties deserves severe punishment. The practice has prevailed to a great and scandalous degree, and the desertions after they have come into the field have been truly vexatious. However, I have heard nothing of such malignity or of so fatal a tendency as the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Farrington. You say you hope the army will get rid of him. Will not the world, too? I hope the State has provided laws against such offenders, for I cannot conceive that any crime should be punished with more severity or more certain death than what this man has been guilty of. Money is the sinews of war. That in which we are engaged is a just one, and we have no means of carrying it on but by the Continental or State notes. Whoever attempts to destroy their credit, particularly that of those emitted by the United States, is a flagitious offender, and should forfeit his life to satisfy the demands of public justice. In the case before us, the enormity of the crime is aggravated in a peculiar manner by the post Farrington held.

I am greatly surprised at the distressed state of the Massachusetts troops, which have come to Peekskill, for want of clothing. This is a circumstance that I had not the most distant apprehension of, till reported to me by

General McDougall, and by other officers who have seen them; nor could I have expected it, after hearing of such large imports of goods. What has become of them, or how can it be supposed that they can be furnished in those States, which from their situation by nature have not any or but very few advantages, and those interrupted by the enemy's fleet? I had hoped, from your intimate knowledge of the circumstances of the country in this respect and necessity of the troops coming provided with clothes, that those from your State, considering the superior opportunities of procuring them, would have come furnished. I wish to be informed of the cause and beg your attention, in this instance, as far as circumstances will admit, to those to come on.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

P. S. As Colonels Lee and Jackson are raising their regiments, you will retain arms, accoutrements, and clothing sufficient for them, which you will order to be delivered as the men are enlisted and mustered. If the State had made provision for Colonel Henley's regiment before my letter arrived directing his attendance here, you will do the same respecting his; having meant nothing more when I called him here than to provide a post for him, as he was doubtful whether the State would go into measures for raising those regiments.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, Boston.

HEADQUARTERS, MIDDLEBROOK,
June 1st, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I have your favor of the 19th May. General De Coudrée arrived here last night, and set off this morning for Philadelphia. What his engagements with Mr. Deane are, I cannot say; but as he is represented to be a gentleman of great ability in his profession, I dare

say his expectations are high. Congress will undoubtedly make a genteel and honorable provision for him, but I hope it may be done in such a manner as not to give disgust to any of the general officers in our army.

I am glad to hear that you are removing the military stores, and I think not only application but direction should be given to the Deputy Commissaries to remove all their stores to places of safety. I do not really know where Sherburn is; but, if there is the least danger, the large magazine of salt should be first removed, as the most valuable article, and the others afterwards. Applications of this kind should be made directly to the Commissary-General, or the person acting by authority under him. In mine of the 24th of last month, you will find my directions about having guards of militia for the stores.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, Middlebrook,
8th June, 1777.

Dear Sir, — I am this day favored with yours of the 27th and 29th of May. I am surprised at the accounts you give me of the want of clothing for the troops of Massachusetts. I took it for granted that they had been sent forward when it was intended that all your troops should go to the northward, and that they would meet them at Peekskill. My reason for this was that the Clothier-General repeatedly assured me, and continues to assure me, that a sufficiency of clothing was left to the eastward for the troops of those States. I have, however, wrote to him this day in a positive manner to send some person forward to issue the clothing which I have directed to be stopped at Peekskill, and then proceed to Boston and inquire how it comes to pass that the troops have been so illy supplied. This, however, has not been the

case with all the regiments; for I am informed that Greaton's have not only drawn a full supply of cloth clothes, but have likewise drawn the same number of hunting-shirts, under-waistcoats, and overalls. Others may have done the same; and, if so, it is no wonder that part go naked, when some are double-clad. Another practice, and a very unjustifiable one, has prevailed in some corps. They have drawn from the Clothier-General five or six hundred suits, under pretence of having as many men, when, in fact, they have not half the number. This is very unfair, and indeed dishonest, because every officer must certainly know the scarcity of clothing and the shifts we are obliged to make, and should, for that reason, take his proportion, and no more; for, if he does, he keeps a useless hoard, while others are starving for want.

I am fearful that, if there has been any mismanagement in the allotment of clothing, that it may be imputed to partiality in me for the southern troops. If there is the least suspicion of that kind, my letters and orders to the Clothier-General will plainly evince the contrary; for I have ever strictly enjoined him to leave a full proportion to the eastward, and till the late complaints I thought it had been done.

If there are no storehouses at the places which are thought convenient and safe, they must certainly be built, at as cheap a rate as possible.

The officers of Colonels Lee's and Jackson's regiments are entitled to pay from the time of their appointments, and may therefore draw for it.

The Quartermaster-General has sent two thousand tents to the northern army, which is more than their proportion; and I will inform General Knox of the want of tin, a proper quantity of which shall be ordered up.

It is impossible for me to say what new regulation in the pay of officers you have been made acquainted with,

and what not. I should have supposed Mr. Hancock had been informed on that head; but, taking it for granted that he is not, I have desired Mr. Palfrey to furnish him with a pay-list of the army, as it stands at present, and at what time the advance of pay was made.

The low returns from Peekskill are shameful, considering the number of men that have been long actually raised to the eastward. I know of no excuse for Connecticut, as several of her regiments had not, last week, marched up twenty men, though consisting of between two and three hundred. The enemy, taking advantage of our weakness up the North River, seem to be drawing their whole force to Jersey, while New York is left with a small garrison. Had the troops come on as they ought to have done, they would not have dared to do this. I have so often repeated my distresses to you, that you must be well acquainted with them, and you therefore must excuse me when I call upon you in the most pressing manner to send every man forward that is clothed, or that can procure tolerable clothing, till better can be got. I will leave nothing undone to obtain it upon some terms or other.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MIDDLEBROOK,
23 June, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I am favored with yours of the 3d, 7th, and 12th. Nothing has given me more uneasiness than the complaints of want of clothing for the troops of your State, especially as I had been led to believe that they were most amply provided. I have ordered all the clothing now coming on to stop at Peekskill, and the Clothier-General has sent up a deputy to distribute it to those who want. As it consists of frocks, waistcoats, and overalls, it will be more proper for the season than cloth uniform,

which must be provided against winter. I have wrote to Mr. Mease, and informed him of the complaints that are made against his agents, for their unequal or at least irregular supply to your troops. He asserts that a full supply has been delivered, but that, by the alteration of the first destination of their troops, the clothing of the whole is gone to the northward. I have directed him to have the matter somehow settled, for nothing can be more disagreeable to me than to be obliged to hear constant complaints of this nature.

General Howe moved from Brunswic on the 13th, at night, and marched as far as Somerset Court House, on the road leading to Delaware. He remained there until the 18th, and then suddenly marched back again to Brunswic, leaving a number of works, which they had begun, half finished. They burnt many farm-houses in this short distance of nine miles. Finding, from many accounts and a variety of circumstances, that they intended to move from Brunswic to Amboy, Major-General Greene marched yesterday morning with three brigades, in order to fall upon their rear. Upon the first appearance of our troops, they abandoned the town with precipitation, and went off to Amboy. As they had previously sent off all their stores and baggage, they had nothing to encumber them in their retreat, and therefore only received a few fires from our flankers. They are now removing their baggage to New York, from whence they will plan some new expedition. As it will take some time to concert and prepare for it, I hope we shall find ways and means to come at their intentions, and to be prepared for them.

If the march to Peekskill by the way of Kinderhook is more inconvenient than by the common route, I do not desire it to be pursued. It was a measure recommended by General Schuyler.

I have long found the ill effects of the wretched car-

touch-boxes generally in use, and I am very glad to find that Colonel Lee has found out a kind that will preserve the ammunition. You will direct him to have them made, and I should be glad of one by way of pattern.

The matter respecting Captain Sullivan's pay, during the time he continues a hostage upon parole, has never been settled. I shall write to Congress respecting it, and take their order upon it.

Mr. Hancock should ever represent the state of his treasury to Congress, and obtain a supply from them. I can do this, but no more. And I dare say they will, even upon his representation, only send him the necessary sums.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, at Boston.

CAMP AT MIDDLEBROOK,
June 27, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I have now before me your two letters of the 17th and 19th instant. It is strange Colonels Whitcomb and Phinney should have suffered their claims to have remained so long unpaid. Their conduct is extremely reprehensible, and must produce a great deal of embarrassment, if not some injustice. Have their abstracts made out in such way as shall appear agreeable to propriety and the usual practice in such cases, to which they should annex an affidavit, to give them a greater degree of authenticity. The company rolls should be made out, specifying the men's names, which should be affixed to the abstract.

In respect to the militia who have done duty at Providence, I have nothing to say. If they were called out by public authority, or by any having power for the purpose, I suppose they are to be paid by the States. At any rate, you should be extremely cautious in having the abstracts

properly adjusted. The company rolls ought to specify the officers' and men's names and time of service, and ought to be sworn to and certified by the Colonels and commanding officer. It might be well for you to submit the matter to Congress, and to take their direction.

You will omit no pains or exertions to complete the deficiencies in the regiments, and to push the troops forward as fast as circumstances will admit.

I have written to General Schuyler that he cannot have any of the field-pieces at this time, as there are not a sufficient number for this army, which has much more occasion for them.

Yesterday morning the enemy advanced with their whole force from Amboy to Westfield, about seven or eight miles, where the whole, or a large part of them, now remain. This movement would seem to indicate an intention to make an attempt on our left flank. As they came out, there was some skirmishing between them and part of Lord Sterling's division, but without any great damage on either side.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, at Boston.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
July 4, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 16th ult. only came to hand two days ago. The arrivals which you mention, and the capture of the brig by Commodore Manly, are fortunate circumstances. The cargoes are valuable, and such as we wanted.

In respect to General Spencer's claim of pay, on the footing of a separate command, it is what I do not conceive myself authorized to allow. I know of but one separate command in the army, distinct in a great measure from that which I hold, which is that in the northern

department, particularly defined by Congress. With the same propriety, every major-general detached in any degree from the main body of the army may exhibit similar claims. General Putnam might ask it for the time he was posted at Princeton, and now while he is at Peekskill; General Mifflin, while he was at Philadelphia; and you, for the time you remain at Boston, &c., &c. In a word, my authority does not extend to an allowance of it; and, if General Spencer thinks himself entitled to it, he must refer the matter to Congress, for their determination. As to the pay of the other officers, which he mentions, his situation might make them necessary, and therefore their claims, I should suppose, are to be allowed. But I must observe that a deputy adjutant-general, appointed just upon the spur of the occasion, cannot receive pay longer than the cause exists which made the appointment necessary.

General Howe evacuated Amboy on Sunday last. His next movement remains to be known. From present appearance, Hudson's River seems to be the object of his attention. Our situation is rather delicate and embarrassing. Were we to proceed with our whole force to Peekskill, leaving him on Staten Island, he might turn about, supposing his present object to be what I have suggested, and push to Philadelphia. On the other hand, had our force continued at their late post till their designs became manifest, Peekskill might be subjected to too much risk. Thus circumstanced, I have drawn the whole army from Bound Brook, — the main body to remain here, as the most convenient post, till we know more of his intentions. General Sullivan's division is to advance as far as Pompton; and Generals Parsons and Varnum, with their brigades, marched on Wednesday morning to reinforce General Putnam.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G.º Washington.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath,
at Boston.

Headquarters, Pompton,
13th July, 1777.

Dear Sir, — Yours of the 30th ult. found me at this place. Upon the enemy's quitting Jersey and embarking, there was the strongest presumption to think that this sudden alteration of their original move towards Philadelphia could only be owing to an intent to co-operate with General Burgoyne and the northern army. It was therefore determined to move this army up towards Peekskill, to be ready to act as occasion might require. Whatever might have been General Howe's intentions a few days ago, there remains but little doubt of what they will be when he gets intelligence from the northward. You will, by this time, have heard all that I at present know; which is, that General St. Clair, with the garrison, evacuated Ticonderoga and Mount Independence on the 6th instant, before a gun was fired at or a battery raised against them. What could have induced him to take this most extraordinary step yet remains to be known. We have not a line from him since the 3d of July, when he wrote, seemingly in good spirits and without the least apprehension. He had a garrison of five thousand men, well supplied with provision, ammunition, and every kind of stores. What is most extraordinary of all is that upon the 9th General Schuyler could hear nothing of General St. Clair or the army. He must have retreated towards No. 4, or they have, every man, fallen into the enemy's hands. General Schuyler is at Fort Edward, with about twelve hundred regular troops and some militia. I have ordered the men belonging to Putnam's, Greaton's, Alden's, and Nixon's regiments, who, you say, are on their march, to join him as quick as possible, as the remainder of their regiments are there. This reinforcement is all that could possibly be spared, under our present circum-

stances. As there never was so pressing an occasion for troops, I entreat you will hurry on those remaining in your State with all possible despatch. Let those intended for the northern army steer towards Albany, near which place they will find General Schuyler endeavoring to form an army. Those whose regiments are at Peekskill are still to go to that place. I imagine General Schuyler has sent for assistance from the western parts of your State; and I hope you, and the gentlemen of your Council and Assembly, will do all in your powers to animate them to step forth.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. Let every party that you send off be fully supplied with ammunition, which should be delivered to the officers, and carried with their baggage. If it is put into their cartouch-boxes, it will probably be damaged by weather before they arrive at the place of destination.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH,
at Boston.

HEADQUARTERS AT THE CLOVE,
19th July, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I have your favor of the 7th and 10th instants. I am pleased to find, from the copy of the letter from Bordeaux, that matters wore so good a face in France. It is more than probable that they will push an advantageous trade with us before a formal declaration of war. Indeed, if they were to strike a blow before the declaration, they would only repay England for playing a game of the same kind in the year 1755.

There is a very material difference between the returns you transmit me and General St. Clair's accounts of the garrison of Ticonderoga. By a copy of the Council of War, before the evacuation, it appears that they had only

2,089 effectives and 900 militia. Your return of Massachusetts troops that had marched amounts to 2,830. There were, besides these, either three or four regiments of New Hampshire troops. These are mysteries which a proper inquiry must clear up. I have sent General Arnold up to join General Schuyler, who is collecting a force near Fort Edward. By the latest accounts, the enemy had not advanced in force from Skenesborough. I therefore hope that, with General Arnold's assistance (in whom the army, and militia in particular, place great confidence), matters will be put in a more favorable train.

Since the Congress passed the Resolve that there should be but one chaplain to three regiments, nothing has been done towards reducing them; and I have my doubts whether the Resolve will ever be carried into execution. The appointment you mention had therefore better be suspended for a while.

General Howe still lays entirely quiet on board the fleet at Staten Island. Very few troops remain on shore, and the destination [is] a profound secret. Whatever were his intentions before this unlucky blow to the northward, he certainly ought now, in good policy, to endeavor to cooperate with General Burgoyne. I am so fully of opinion that this will be his plan, that I have advanced the army thus far to support our party at Peekskill, should the enemy move up the river.

I mentioned in my last the necessity of pushing on the remainder of the levies; and I must now repeat that, from every thing that has since turned up, the occasion for them, especially to the northward, is more pressing.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G^{o}. WASHINGTON.

P. S. Enclosed is a letter, which is one of many I have received upon the same subject, from the Rev. Mr. Allen. I refer the matter to you; and, if you find that he has the

least shadow of right to his claim, pray pay him his demand, or he will write me and travel himself to death.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath,
Boston.

Morristown, July 27, 1777.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of the 16th instant, informing me of an application from the Board of War of your State for a sufficiency of arms and other necessaries to accommodate a body of men to be employed in a secret expedition to St. John's River, and desiring my instructions upon the occasion. As I am not acquainted by Congress with what steps they have taken in the affair, nor with their present intentions concerning it, I do not think myself authorized to comply with the requisition; but I shall immediately write to them on the subject, and request them to give you directions what to do. Till you receive them, you are to defer doing any thing in it. For my own part, I think the whole scheme very ineligible at this time. It appears to me altogether inexpedient to employ such a number of men in a remote offensive expedition, when we have so urgent a demand for all the strength we can collect to answer the purposes of defence.

It is a disagreeable consideration that our men are so apt, on any misfortune, to desert their engagements, and return home at the very moment their services are most wanted. The evil is of the most injurious and dangerous nature, and calls for a vigorous remedy. I approve of what you have done with respect to those who left General St. Clair, and shall be happy to hear you may have it in your power to contribute towards checking the practice by a few instances of exemplary severity.

In a former letter of yours of the 13th, which has been also received, you ask my advice what to do with Mon-

sieur Faneuil and some other French officers, who are desirous of entering the service as volunteers, and in other capacities. I would have you, by all means, discourage all such from coming to camp, who do not come out under the faith of contracts with our agents in France. They embarrass me beyond measure, which would be the case, were their pretensions ever so moderate, from the difficulty of giving employment to so great a number of strangers unacquainted with our genius, language, and customs; but the inconvenience is very much increased by the immoderate expectations, which almost every one of them I have seen entertains, and which make it impossible to satisfy them. And I have found by experience that, however modest they may seem at first to be, by proposing to serve as volunteers, they very soon extend their views, and become importunate for offices they have no right to look for. I believe what I recommend is agreeable to the intention of Congress.

I am glad to hear of the prizes that have been made by our frigates and privateers, particularly with respect to the "Fox" frigate; but I am sorry to find there is reason to suppose she has been retaken. I hope with you the account may prove false.

The British fleet sailed out of Sandy Hook the 23d instant. The prevailing and perhaps the most probable opinion is that they are destined for Philadelphia. But it is not impossible they may intend for the eastward. Proper attention to this should not be wanting. But the bare possibility of it must not prevent or interfere with your forwarding the remaining Continental troops to their respective regiments, with all the diligence you can. The emergency of northern affairs indispensably calls for them. It is with reluctance I am obliged to say that, had *all* the Eastern States taken effectual measures to complete and send on expeditiously their several quotas, the misfortune at Ticonderoga, with all its attendant mischiefs, would

not have happened. But I have the consolation to reflect that my endeavors have been unremitted to induce them to make every exertion in their power for that purpose.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, Boston.

HEADQUARTERS, PHILADELPHIA,
August 5th, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I have duly received your favor of 23d of July. I believe the evacuation of Ticonderoga has dissatisfied the people in general; nor can I say that I have as yet heard any reason which makes such a step appear absolutely necessary to me. However, as a strict inquiry into the conduct of the commanding officers is soon to take place, the public will no doubt be fully satisfied with the determination of this Court, who will, I dare say, give the world a full and impartial account of the whole proceeding, and condemn or acquit, as matters upon the fullest examination will appear to them.

I arrived here three or four days ago, persuaded by the late movements of the enemy, and many of their ships appearing at these capes, that they intended an attack on this city; since which, their fleet has stood out to sea, and we can scarcely form a probable conjecture of their next design. Upon their ships standing to sea, I halted the divisions of the army wherever they happened to be from this to Peekskill; so that, should their real intention be to the eastward, I am in hopes they will not be able to do much damage before we can come up with them.

Your exertions in apprehending and sending back deserters must have a happy effect, and I request you may continue them with unremitted vigilance.

As it is not quite improbable that I may find it necessary to march this army to the eastward, I think Major Dawes had better purchase provision for his workmen,

than draw any collected for our use. Your instructions to him will be given accordingly.

I understand the prisoners you mentioned are released, and are therefore at liberty to act as they see proper.

I am, with great respect, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath,
at Boston.

Headquarters, near Germantown,
10th Aug., 1777.

Dear Sir, — I was yesterday favored with yours of the 1st and 2d instants. I am convinced, if any ships appeared off your coast at the time you mention, that they could not have been the fleet that sailed from the Hook, because *they* were off the Capes of Delaware just at that time. But I think it more than probable that you will have heard something of the enemy before this reaches you. We have not received the least intelligence of them since they left the Capes of Delaware last Thursday was a week. Had they returned to the Hook, they must have arrived there many days ago, as the winds have been constantly fair. The season of the year is not only against their going southward; but there is no object there worth their attention, and it would be leaving General Burgoyne to make head against the whole eastern force and the Continental army up the North River. My opinion therefore is that they intend either to go round the east end of Long Island into the Sound and land in Connecticut, or stand more eastward and make a descent upon Rhode Island or somewhere in Massachusetts, from either of which places they may attempt to penetrate and form a junction with General Burgoyne, who is pushing down the North River with scarce any opposition.

Be the place of General Howe's destination where it

may, it will be impossible for the army to be up time enough to prevent his making good his landing; but I think it will be a considerable time before he can complete his debarkation, and get all things in readiness to march into the country. I therefore must depend upon the most spirited exertions of the militia to give him every opposition, and endeavor to retard his progress till the Continental army can come up. That I may reach the North River quickly (should there be occasion), I have ordered this army, with all their baggage, &c., to return to the east side of Delaware. As the garrison of Peekskill have not been upon fatigue, they will be able to march forward rapidly, while the troops that take their places refresh and rest themselves. As I am informed that the whole country between the coast and the North River is rough and defensible, I am in hopes that we shall be able to take such a position as with our joint force will prevent a junction of the two armies of the enemy, should they attempt it.

Should a descent be made, it will be necessary to remove all teams and provisions out of their way as quick as possible, the teams especially, as I am convinced General Howe will be in great want of draft cattle, as his own must be much reduced from the length of time which they have been on board.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G.º Washington.

11th Aug.

P. S. An express overtook me last night, with an account that the fleet were seen the 7th instant off Sinepuxent, 16 leagues to the southward of the Capes of Delaware. I have therefore halted till I have further intelligence.

To Major-General Heath, at Boston.

Camp 20 Miles from Philadelphia,
Aug. 12th, 1777.

Dear Sir, — I have now before me your favor of the 30th ult., which only came to hand last night.

Having written you fully yesterday, I have but little to add at this time, and indeed nothing but what respects the subject of your request. Springfield, being in the Massachusetts State, is certainly included in your command; and you will from time to time order payment to the persons employed in the Elaboratory department, as their pay becomes due, taking care that the accounts are regularly stated and authenticated in the best manner circumstances will admit. I would also have you to direct and order every possible necessary aid of teams and waggons to be furnished, whenever they are wanted, for removing and forwarding the stores to and from thence, and to establish such regulations in that instance as you shall judge best calculated to promote the service.

The stores and Elaboratory are under the management of General Knox, as being more intimately connected with his department: you will therefore be mindful not to give any orders contrary to his or mine, as a compliance would produce confusion, and in many cases would derange the most necessary plans.

I am, dear sir, with great esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G.° Washington.

To Major-General Heath, Boston.

Headquarters, near Germantown,
Sept. 14th, 1777.

Dear Sir, — As the object of the enemy is now reduced to an absolute certainty, and they are bending their whole force with great vigor to the southward, it can no longer answer any valuable purpose to keep a body of

Continental troops in your State, whose presence in the further progress of the campaign will probably be essentially necessary in this quarter. You will therefore, on receipt of this, exert yourself to despatch forward all the Continental troops now in your State to join this army, *with all possible expedition.* Not a moment's time is to be lost. The call for them is, to the last degree, urgent.

On the 11th instant we had a pretty general engagement with the enemy, which from some unlucky incidents terminated against us, so far as to our being obliged to quit the field, after an obstinate action, with the loss of some men and artillery.

But, from every account, we have reason to believe the enemy suffered much more than we did in the number of killed and wounded.

Our troops have not lost their spirits, and I am in hopes we shall soon have it in our power to compensate for the disaster we have sustained. We brought the army to this place to refresh them with convenience and security, and are just beginning our march to return towards the enemy. Hurry of business prevents my giving you particulars.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath, Boston.

Headquarters, Sept. 30th, 1777.

Dear Sir, — I have been duly favored with yours of the 10th instant.

With respect to supplying the Continental frigates with ammunition from the Continental magazines, as I have not copies of the letters you mention with me, I am not certain how far they may have authorized the measure, but I entirely approve of your granting the necessary supply from them. The frigates ought not to want so essential an article; and I know of no other way in which they could be furnished with equal propriety, if at all.

I am glad to hear of the valuable prizes that have been lately brought into your port. We shall stand in need of all our activity to increase our supplies by these means, and render them, as far as possible, adequate to our numerous and pressing wants.

The aspect of our northern affairs is extremely pleasing, particularly by our last accounts, which give us to hope that Ticonderoga, ere this, has fallen into our hands, and that General Burgoyne, after an unsuccessful attack, has been obliged to retreat, under circumstances that threaten his ruin. It is of the utmost importance that these favorable prospects should be speedily realized.

Probably before this reaches you, you will have heard that General Howe, after much manœuvring, marching, and countermarching, has at length gained possession of Philadelphia. Many unlucky incidents prevented, in a great measure, the opposition he would have received before he accomplished his purpose, notwithstanding our misfortune on the Brandywine. But, though matters have taken a turn different from what we could have wished, I am in hopes it will not be long before we are in a situation to repair the consequences of our ill-success, and give a more happy complexion to our affairs in this quarter.

I wrote to you some time since to forward with all despatch the three additional regiments from your State to this army. I trust you have expedited this business in a manner suitable to the urgency of the occasion; but, if any thing remains that can serve to hasten their coming, I beg it may be done.

I am, with regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

P. S. Please to deliver the enclosed to Captain Hill, of the regiment late Patterson's.

To Major-General Heath, at Boston.

Camp Pawlins Mill,
8th Oct., 1777.

Dear Sir, — I have lately received a letter from the Secretary of the Board of War, in which he complains that you have drawn arms for the full complement of Henly's, Lee's, and Jackson's regiments, when there is scarce any chance of their being completed. I therefore desire, if the matter is so, that you may return all the supernumerary arms into the magazine at Springfield or Brookfield. As you will undoubtedly have heard many and various reports of the late action upon the 4th, I will briefly relate the circumstances. Having received certain information of the situation of the enemy at Germantown, it was thought that a favorable opportunity presented itself of giving them a stroke by way of surprise. We accordingly marched all the night of the 3d, and arrived at the town a little after day-break. We attacked upon two quarters, upon both of which we were successful; but it was so exceedingly foggy that we could neither see the confusion into which the enemy were thrown, neither could each of our wings form a judgment of the advantage which the other had gained. We continued the attack for two hours, and then retired to our camp, bringing off all our artillery. We unhappily did not know how near we were to gaining a complete victory, till the affair was all over. We were informed that General Howe was so dubious of the issue of the day, that he had given orders to retreat to Chester in case of accident. The opposition was warm. Our killed and wounded amount to near four hundred, from the best account we can obtain: that of the enemy much more considerable. General Agnew is certainly killed, and it is said General Grant and Sir William Erskine badly wounded. All accounts from people who have left Philadelphia since the action agree that great numbers of wounded have been carried

in. We have lost no officer of distinction but General Nash, of North Carolina. The enemy had possessed themselves of Billingsport upon the Jersey shore, from whence they could have annoyed our shipping, which protect the *chevaux de frise;* but they abandoned it immediately upon the action, from whence I conclude that they cannot spare the detachment.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G.° WASHINGTON.

To Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, Boston.

HEADQUARTERS, WHITEMARSH,
5 Nov., 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I am favored with yours of the 22d and 25th of October. As you have wrote to Congress respecting the difficulty of supplying the prisoners of General Burgoyne's army with quarters, fuel, and provisions, I imagine they will give proper directions in the matter. I do not think it to our interest to expedite the passage of the prisoners to England; for you may depend upon it that they will, immediately upon their arrival there, throw them into different garrisons, and bring out an equal number. Now, if they sail in December, they may arrive time enough to take the places of others who may be out in May, which is as early as a campaign can be well entered upon. I look upon it that their principal difficulty will arise from the want of provisions for the voyage; and therefore, although I would supply them with every article agreeable to stipulation, I would not furnish an ounce for sea-store, nor suffer it to be purchased in the country.

The account you give of the appropriation of the arms which had been drawn for Henly's, Lee's, and Jackson's regiments is perfectly satisfactory.

What you say respecting the disabled soldiers to the northward is agreeable to my idea of the matter; and I would therefore have you embody them at convenient

places for the present, and, when they are fit for small services, let them mount the guards at the elaboratories and places where stores are deposited. I dare say we shall have subjects enough to establish a corps of invalids in the eastern as well as the middle colonies.

The present state of the Commissary's department gives me great uneasiness; and I fear that, by the removal of the old officers during the active part of the campaign, the army will suffer. I am, however, obliged to you for the information respecting the inattention that has hitherto been paid to the putting up meat to the eastward, which is the country we depend upon for beef, and where all our salt is deposited. I shall immediately write to the new Commissary-General of purchases, and know why this neglect has happened.

The expedition to Rhode Island is just as much a secret to me as it is to you. I never was consulted upon it, neither do I know from whence or whom it originated. You must therefore apply to Congress for directions in regard to the payment of the troops employed, for I cannot give the least authority for it.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Valley Forge,
Dec. 20th, 1777.

Dear Sir, — I yesterday evening received your favor of the 7th inst., and am happy to find the first account of the arrival of the ship with artillery, &c., fully confirmed. This event is fortunate and interesting, as it not only manifests the strong attachment of France to our cause, but also makes us very respectable in point of artillery. I doubt not of your attention to secure the stores, and wish your care of them. The Board of War, it is probable, will give particular directions about them.

The state of the Commissary's department has given me more concern of late than any thing else. Unless matters in that line are speedily taken up and put in a better train, the most alarming consequences are to be apprehended. Congress are already informed upon the subject, yet I shall transmit them that part of your letter which relates to it. Your conduct in delivering the salt to Mr. Colt, so far from being censurable, gives you a claim in my opinion to the public thanks. Surely nothing can be more essential than laying up supplies of provision for the army; and, if the present moment is not seized for the purpose, I do not see how it will be possible to subsist it. The work has been already too long neglected. Should it be still deferred, the prospect before us will be painful and disagreeable. As far as your situation and circumstances will admit, I beg you to give Mr. Colt every spur in your power to prosecute the business. My last advices from Congress on this subject were that they had written to the State of Connecticut respecting it.

The Board of War have received some report that a General Hamilton of General Burgoyne's army is desirous of being exchanged and serving in America. This they have not had from any proper authority. However, I request that you will inquire into the matter; and, if it is so, the measure will be readily come into on our part, and may be carried into effect for the release of Brigadier-General Thompson. At the same time, I would observe, if this is General Hamilton's wish, it will be necessary for General Burgoyne to inform me of it, that application may be made to General Howe upon the subject. Indeed, it might not be improper for General Burgoyne to enclose me a line from himself to General Howe. I would have you introduce the matter as a report you had heard, but not as coming from me, nor not in nature of an application. If this exchange should take place, perhaps it may

be the means of bringing on others, and of relieving many of our officers from their present unhappy condition.

This letter goes by express to General Burgoyne. Congress will not consider or give any answer to any propositions or requests he may make for altering or dispensing with any terms in the Convention of Saratoga, unless he makes them directly to themselves.

I am, dear sir, with esteem and regard,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

To Major-General Heath, Boston.

Headquarters, Valley Forge,
29th Dec., 1777.

Dear Sir, — Major Blackden, of Colonel Sheldon's light dragoons, goes to Boston to procure clothing and accoutrements for the regiment against the ensuing campaign. As the prices of many articles have risen from there being too great a number of bidders, I have directed the Major, if there are any persons purchasing for the Continent, not to interfere with them, but to apply to them for such articles as he may want; and, as he has the measures of the men, he will have the uniforms made up. There will be several things, as boots, saddlery, &c., for which he must contract himself, to pay for which I desire you will furnish him with money.

If the Continental agents should not have the articles of clothing proper for Major Blackden, he is in that case to procure them on the best terms he can, and you will also be pleased to furnish him with money for the amount.

We have found so many advantages from cavalry in the course of this campaign that I am determined to augment them as much as possible against the next, and enable them to take the field in a respectable manner. I there-

fore hope you will give Major Blackden your countenance, and every assistance in your power.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath, Boston.

Headquarters, Valley Forge,
Jan. 2d, 1778.

Dear Sir, — Captain Hopkins, of Colonel Moylan's light dragoons, goes to Boston to procure clothing and accoutrements for the regiment against the ensuing campaign. As the prices of many articles have risen from there being too great a number of bidders, I have directed the Captain, if there are any persons purchasing for the Continent, not to interfere with them, but to apply to them for such articles as he may want. I have also directed him particularly, in his instructions, to see Major Blackden (who has similar orders), and fix on a time for their proceedings, that they may not raise difficulties to each other. The Captain will send the articles that he may get, either made up or not, as he finds most advantageous to the regiment. There will be several things, as boots, saddlery, &c., for which he must contract himself, to pay for which I desire you will furnish him with money. If the Continental agents should not have the articles of clothing proper for Captain Hopkins, he is in that case to procure them on the best terms he can; and you will also be pleased to furnish him with money for the amount. We have found so many advantages from cavalry in the course of this campaign that I am determined to augment them as much as possible against the next, and enable them to take the field in a respectable manner. I therefore hope you will give Captain Hopkins your countenance, and every assistance in your power.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath, Boston.

Headquarters, Valley Forge,
9th Jan., 1778.

Dear Sir, — I have your favor of the 17th and 25th of December. At the time of your writing, General Burgoyne could not have received my letters, which were dated the 17th and 20th of December.

Colonel Webb wrote to me himself upon the subject of his exchange, to which I have given him an answer.

I beg you will carefully forward the enclosed letters to Brigadiers Glover and Learned. They contain orders for them to join their respective brigades, with which they are much wanted.

I am glad to hear that considerable quantities of clothing have been purchased on the general account of the Continent; and I hope these supplies, in aid of what each State will furnish for its particular troops, will relieve the army from the extreme distress which they have been in for covering.

Be pleased to deliver the enclosed letter to Baron Steuben, who, I imagine, waits at Boston for my answer.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G.o Washington.

To Major-General Heath, Boston.

Headquarters, Valley Forge,
27th Feb., 1778.

Dear Sir, — I have been regularly favored with yours of the 13th, 18th, 19th, and 25th January, and 10th current. As these letters principally respect your transactions with General Burgoyne, you will be guided by the directions of Congress in every point that relates to him. If they consent to the exchange of Colonel Anstruther and Lord Napier, I have not the least objection. I only desire that the exchange may not be carried into execu-

tion until Mr. Boudinot, the Commissary-General of prisoners, informs you what officers you are to demand in return for them. If the matter takes place, be pleased to mention Lord Napier's rank.

Considering General Learned's ill state of health, I think his resignation had better be accepted of, more especially as from the nature of his complaint it does not appear that he can ever be able to bear the fatigues of a campaign. I would therefore advise him to make his resignation, with the reasons for so doing, to Congress, who are the proper body to receive it.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE,
5th March, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — I am favored with yours of the 20th February, enclosing a letter from Lieutenant Coane, of the 62d Regiment, to General Howe. I shall send in the letter, and shall have no objection to his exchange, if General Howe consents.

As Ensign Winslip's health does not admit of his remaining in the service, I would have you accept of his resignation.

The wax which you mention to have sent forward is not yet come to hand. Having wrote to you fully on the 27th ult., I have only to recommend the continuance of the removal of all supernumerary stores from Boston.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, Valley Forge,
March 14th, 1778.

Sir, — Enclosed are a memorial to and a letter from the Board of War, on the subject of Mr. Daniel Heister, a gentleman who some time since obtained a flag from you, under the sanction of which he went to Halifax, and was there unwarrantably seized and detained as a spy.

You will be pleased, agreeable to the request of the Board, by the first flag, to remonstrate against this procedure in a proper manner, and demand Mr. Heister's liberation, with a restoration of his papers and effects.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

Go. Washington.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, Valley Forge,
8th April, 1778.

Dear Sir, — I have been favored with yours of the 23d and 24th ult. Finding that Colonel Lee cannot be prevailed upon to remain in the service, I have represented his case and that of Major Swazee to Congress, and expect in my next to inform you of their acceptation of their commissions. If Captain Alden's circumstances are such that he cannot conveniently continue in the army, you may give him a discharge, first seeing that he has settled his regimental accounts, and accounted for any public money that he may have received for recruiting or other purposes.

I am exceedingly anxious to hear what steps the State of Massachusetts have taken to raise their recruits, for what time, and what numbers are voted.

It is shameful to see the number of men that have been admitted to furloughs. In some brigades, they amount to nearly as many as the men present and fit for duty. I must beg you to issue positive orders for every man be-

longing to the regiments of your State, whose furloughs have expired, to join their corps under pain of being treated as deserters. Many officers have likewise exceeded their terms, and they should also be ordered to join their regiments without loss of time.

You must be sensible that the lateness of raising the recruits can only be compensated by hurrying them to the army after they are raised; and I therefore depend much upon your assiduity in doing it. And I desire, that whenever an officer sets out with a party of men, that he may have a reasonable time allowed him for reaching camp, which, if he exceeds, he must be accountable for. I would have this done, to prevent unnecessary delay upon the road.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE,
13th May, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — I have your favors of the 21st and 26th April, the last enclosing the Resolve of the General Assembly of Massachusetts for completing the battalions and for raising thirteen hundred men to serve upon the North River. I hope that clause prohibiting the receiving prisoners or deserters, either as draughts or substitutes, will be particularly attended to, for reasons given at large in my last.

If Lieutenant Clark's health is such that he cannot continue in the service, you must give him his discharge, upon producing certificates that he is not indebted to the regiment or public.

The Court of Versailles has announced her alliance with the United States to that of London, upon which the ambassadors were immediately withdrawn from the respective courts. The Houses of Lords and Commons have addressed the King upon the subject, and seem to resent the

matter highly. We have this by a Philadelphia paper of the 9th. A war, I suppose, will be the inevitable and speedy consequence.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, Boston.

HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE,
20th May, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — Your very agreeable favor of the 4th instant, with your acceptable present, came to hand last night. I shall direct a guard to relieve Captain Hutchins at Reading, and give every necessary instruction for the safe conduct of his charge.

I do not wonder at General Massey's answer to your letter. It is in a style of ignorant insult, that has often, of late, characterized the writings of British officers.

The enclosed letters to Major Curtis, Ensign Jones, and Adjutant Dunckerley, are confirming their resignations, which they sent me. You will therefore be pleased to call upon the gentlemen for their commissions, and transmit them by first opportunity. You will also see that they are not indebted to their regiments.

All our accounts from Philadelphia concur in confirming the opinion that the enemy mean to embark from Philadelphia. But there is no divining their destination, or where they design to operate next.

I hope the remainder of the fleet from France will be equally fortunate with the two you have mentioned.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

N. B. Mr. Heister is liberated, and has returned to his home.

To Major-General Heath, Boston.

Headquarters, Valley Forge,
17th June, 1778.

Dear Sir, — I have been favored with your two letters of the 23d and 25th ult.

I am sorry an exchange cannot take place between General Thompson and one of the gentlemen who were supposed to be Brigadiers. This method of considering officers as Brigadiers, and not considering them as such, does not altogether accord with my ideas of propriety. In the course of the contest, we lost one officer, that is the difference in rank between a Major and Brigadier, by this mode of conduct. We must take care how we lose another. As to the exchange of the other officers who are soliciting, I wish it may be consented to by Sir Henry Clinton. From some circumstances which have happened, we have reason to doubt whether it will. It is our interest, and therefore we should promote their exchange whenever we can.

With respect to the appointment of Major Pollard to the office of deputy adjutant-general, if such an appointment was necessary, I suppose there will be no objection to his having it; but I would wish you to write in this, as in all other instances of a like nature, to Congress, on the subject, and receive their consent or disapprobation.

I cannot give order in the point referred to me, respecting the men enlisted by Colonel Armand. The Resolution of Congress of the 26th of February is express against enlisting prisoners or deserters. I believe applications are gone to them and the Board of War in this particular instance, who will direct in it, I presume, as they may think right.

The enemy are still in Philadelphia; that is, they hold the city, but all accounts point to an evacuation.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant.

P. S. A Captain Robert Davis, of Vose's regiment, was sent from this camp the 27th of December last, in order to collect the men of Glover's brigade who had been left sick on the east side of the North River, and has never made his appearance since. I am informed he amused himself by travelling from town to town till he at length arrived at Boston. I request you to make inquiry after him, and to order him in the most peremptory manner forthwith to join his regiment. If you should hear any material circumstances respecting his conduct since he went from camp, you will be pleased to inform me of them.

G°. WASHINGTON.

To Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, Boston.

HOPEWELL TOWNSHIP, JERSEY,
Near the Baptist meeting-house, 24th June, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — I had the pleasure of your two letters, the one of the 26th of May, and the other of the 6th inst.

The Congress some time ago resolved that Colonel Lee's commission should not be received till further consideration. I have not heard any thing since on this subject, and must therefore refer Colonel Lee to Congress for an answer. I accept of the resignation of Captain Cleveland of Jackson's regiment, and Joseph Stacy's, Quartermaster to Colonel Lee's. In the settlement of their accounts, you will see that they are not indebted to the Continent.

On the morning of the 18th inst., the rear of the enemy's army evacuated Philadelphia, upon which I immediately moved towards the Delaware. They have penetrated as far as Allentown; but whether they mean for Amboy or Sandy Hook is not evident. Every obstruction is thrown in their way which our circumstances will admit.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

To Hon. Major-General Heath, Boston.

Headquarters, near Brunswick,
3d June, 1778.

Dear Sir, — I received your favor of the 22d ultimo by the hands of Captain Horton.

It is a melancholy consideration that in the execution of our duty an officer of the Convention should suffer so unfortunate a fate. However, your conduct in the affair will meet general approbation.[1]

I have attended to Ensign Pond's memorial, and accept of his resignation.

In my last of the 24th ult., I gave you the course of the enemy. We came up with them near Monmouth Court-house, when an action ensued. The several contentions during the day were sharp and severe. We remained in full possession of the ground, of two hundred and forty-five dead, and several wounded which they had not time to carry off. Our loss in rank and file is sixty killed and near one hundred and thirty wounded. About midnight they decamped, retreating in great silence and rapidity, and gained a position which made any further pursuit impracticable.

In one of your late letters, you mention the arrival of a vessel with military stores, among which are horse accoutrements. I desire that the latter may be sent forward to the North River with all possible despatch.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

G.o Washington.

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[1] This appears to refer to the fact that Lieutenant Richard Brown, a British officer, a prisoner under the Convention with General Burgoyne, had been shot by an American sentinel for attempting to pass the American line contrary to standing orders. A bitter personal correspondence ensued between General Phillips, the officer in command, and General Heath. The course of the latter was formally approved by Congress.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Haverstraw,
18th July, 1778.

Dear Sir, — I was duly favored with yours of the 29th and 30th ultimo, with that of the 7th inst.

I shall take the first opportunity of transmitting your packet to General Clinton.

The French fleet are now laying off Sandy Hook. I congratulate you on this very important and fortunate event.

As the Cork fleet is hourly expected with provisions for the British army, and it is probable they are directed to take their course through the Sound in order to avoid the Count d'Estaing, I have written to the eastern States, proposing to them to collect and rendezvous their frigates and other vessels of force to interrupt their passage that way. If you can give any assistance in promoting so valuable a purpose, it will be rendering the cause a very great service.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

G°. Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, White Plains,
Aug. 14th, 1778.

Dear Sir, — Within a few days past, I have been favored with your several letters of the 15th, 17th, and 25th ult., and of the 6th inst.

Mr. Ottendorf shall never act as a major, or in any capacity as an officer in the army, with my consent; and I am much surprised that he should entertain the most distant idea that he would be received. His conduct deserves a very different notice.

With respect to the salt provisions which you mention,

Colonel Wadsworth, the commissary-general, had given directions about them before your letter came to hand; and matters of this nature are principally left to his management.

I have no objection to your receiving Major Lithgow's resignation, as he appears unfit for service, and to be very desirous of a discharge. You will use the proper and customary precautions in like cases respecting a settlement of his accounts.

I thank you much for your kind wishes. It is natural for you to desire to be in a more active scene; but the important objects of your present command, requiring an intelligent and attentive officer, I do not see how your services can be dispensed with.

I have transmitted a copy of General Phillips's letter to Congress on the subject of an officer's going to Canada. This I have never thought regular, nor given direction in any matter respecting the Convention troops, of my own accord. Indeed, I wish that where there are any points in which they are concerned, and which you cannot determine yourself, you would make your application immediately to them.

The zeal of the gentlemen volunteers deserves great commendation. I hope their exertions will be crowned with success, and with all the honor they desire.

I am, dear sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, WHITE PLAINS,
6th Sept., 1778.

DEAR SIR, — I have been favored with yours of the 26th and 30th August, and 1st and 2d instants. I am glad to find that your sentiments, respecting the reception that ought to be given to the Count d'Estaing and his

officers, corresponded with mine; and that you had taken proper steps to prepare for refitting his fleet, previous to the receipt of my letter. As the Rhode Island expedition is now at an end, I can see no objection to Mr. Commissary Clarke's going thither; and, if he should have occasion to go from thence to New York to settle his accounts and procure money, he may do it without any disadvantage to us.

I do not know what device General Patterson will choose to have upon his colors. I will speak to him, and desire him to inform you.

The fleet that has appeared off Boston consists only of men-of-war, and I imagine is intended to block up the Count. I have just received a letter from New London, which informs me that about fifty sail of transports, with troops on board, appeared off that harbor, bound westward. Whether they are only bringing back the late reinforcement, or have withdrawn the garrison of Newport entirely, I do not yet know. But at any rate it serves to evince that they have no intent against Boston by land. It will, however, be prudent to man all the batteries to aid and protect the Count's fleet against a superior British squadron.

A company of artificers at Springfield will apply for a suit of clothes each, part of their annual bounty. They were enlisted upon those terms, and you will therefore be pleased to give orders to the clothier to supply them.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, White Plains,
Sept. 13, 1778.

Dear Sir, — I have just received advice from the Board of War that they have given directions to Mr. Fletcher to send forward to Springfield and Hartford all

the ready-made clothing in his possession, there to be sorted and repacked previous to their coming to camp, except a few particular articles, which are ordered immediately on; and to deliver Messrs. Otis and Andrews all the cloths, woollens, linens, and other goods, to be made up by them as expeditiously as possible, for a further supply.

The necessities of the army and the experience we have had of the total mismanagement, too common in the manner of transporting clothing to camp, by which great delay and loss have been incurred, induce me to desire your particular attention and assistance in the matter. The importance in this advanced season of losing no time and sparing no pains to supply the exigencies of the soldiery in so essential an article is too obvious, and, I am persuaded, too interesting to your own feelings, to need being enforced by a single argument. I would wish you to call upon Mr. Fletcher, to know what means he is employing to answer the views of the Board; and, if they do not appear to you perfectly adequate, to concert with him any additional measures you may think advisable. The necessity is urgent, and the exertions should be proportioned.

I have written to General Greene, directing him to instruct his assistants in Boston that they may strain every nerve to give the most effectual aid. There is a number of return waggons, both in the Commissary's and Quartermaster's line, which may be made use of on the occasion, and be a saving of expense to the public. But, though this resource should be well improved, in a business of such moment it ought not wholly to be relied on. It is my anxious wish the clothing may come on with the greatest despatch, and as much together as circumstances will permit, and for this purpose every expedient ought to be used to provide a sufficient number of waggons; hiring them if to be had, or, if not, calling in the aid of the civil authority to impress or otherwise procure them in the most certain and expeditious mode.

It hath been too much a practice hitherto to send on the clothing in small parcels, without a guard or conductor to take care of them. The consequences have been in every case loss of time, in many cases the loss of the clothing itself, which, being scattered about at different places on the road, has often been converted to private use. To obviate this, I request your care to have trusty persons appointed to conduct the clothing to the respective depositaries, furnished with proper guards, to facilitate which it will be necessary to send it on in large parcels.

I should also be glad you would call upon Messrs. Otis and Andrews, and know what measures they are taking for making up the articles intrusted to their care, and to give them all the advice and assistance in your power. In every step you take, however, you are to be cautious not to contravene the directions of the Board of War, but to promote and accelerate their execution.

With great esteem and regard, I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, FREDERICKSBURG,
22d Sept., 1778.

DEAR SIR, — I have your favor of the 14th instant. Whatever may be the future intentions of the enemy, it is evident that they have lain aside all designs against Boston for the present; Lord Howe having returned to the Hook with his fleet, and the troops under General Gray have come down the Sound again, and have landed at White Stone upon Long Island. I shall keep the best possible watch upon their motions; and if, upon their next move, I have the least reason to believe that they yet mean to operate to the eastward, I shall order General Gates to move forward with five brigades which are advanced to Danbury. While they remain collected at and

near New York, prudence forbids quitting a position which secures and covers the posts in the Highlands, by the preservation of which we insure our communication with the middle and southern colonies on which we depend totally for bread.

I have every now and then mentioned the inexpediency of keeping any superfluous public stores in the town of Boston. Now the enemy have so much greater an inducement to make an attempt upon that post, the necessity of removing them becomes more urgent. I shall give you the earliest intelligence of the movements of the enemy, that, if towards you, you may make the best disposition to receive them, until the Continental troops can get up.

Major Nicholas is appointed by the Board of War to superintend the transportation of clothing from Boston to Springfield and Hartford. You will therefore be pleased to inform him what steps you have taken in consequence of my letter of the 14th instant, and give him every assistance which he may need to carry the business speedily into execution.

I am pleased to hear by a letter from General Greene, of the 16th, that the affray mentioned in yours of the 10th has terminated in such a manner as to convince the French gentlemen that no public harm or insult was intended by the people of the town of Boston.[1] All possible means should now be taken to cultivate harmony between the people and seamen, who will not be so easily reconciled as their officers, not having so much sense to direct them.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

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[1] An affray between some American and French sailors. Two French officers, in attempting to part them, were wounded, one of them mortally.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, Fredericksburg,
23d Sept., 1778.

Dear Sir, — I am glad to find by yours of the 19th that such progress had been made in forwarding the clothing from Boston to Springfield, &c. I think you did right, under the appearance of matters, to send the unmade clothing out of town; and I would recommend it to you to keep the bulk still there, bringing it in as the tailors want it.

By a letter from General Greene of the 19th, I am informed that the General Court had ordered in three thousand militia for the defence of Boston, until the Continental troops should arrive. I suppose this measure was taken upon a presumption that General Gray would make an attempt upon the fleet and harbor. But, as I have before informed you, he has returned. If, therefore, the militia should have been assembled, and are not disbanded before this reaches you, I would advise its being immediately done. They will consume stores unnecessarily, and will not be so ready to turn out again, should there be occasion.

I will inform you in my next of the terms upon which Congress directed officers should be supplied. The Resolve passed in November last, and I have not the papers at hand just now.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

P. S. I have received advice from New York that two brigades were ordered to be held in readiness to embark for the West Indies, and that four of the regiments had actually gone on board. This is brought out by deserters.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, near Fredericksburg,
Sept. 27th, 1778.

Dear Sir, — I last night received your favor of the 21st inst., and thank you much for the intelligence it contains. I hope we shall have a confirmation, ere it be long, of the advantages said to be gained over Admiral Keppel, in public despatches to the Count and Monsieur Gérard.

When I wrote you on the 23d, I apprehended that the General Court had been induced to order in the militia, merely from General Gray's having been on the eastern coast, with a considerable detachment, and therefore advised a countermand of the order, or that they should be disbanded if assembled, as he had returned from the eastward with his force, and rejoined the army at New York. I now perceive by your favor that the Court had other motives, and that one object for calling them in was to complete and garrison the works around the harbor. This being the case, and as several circumstances and advices of late more strongly indicate that the enemy have either an evacuation of New York or some capital movement in view, I think it will be advisable for the Court to employ the militia in the manner they intended, till Sir Henry Clinton's intentions are better understood. A little time must decide the part he means to take. I am using every means in my power to come at his designs; and the very instant I am able to determine on them, I shall pursue measures for counteracting him, whatever way he may point his operations.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,
Your most obedient servant,
Go. Washington.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, Fredericksburg,
Sept. 29th, 1778.

Dear Sir, — This will be delivered to you by Brigadier-General Du Portail, whom I recommend to you as a gentleman of merit and abilities, and knowledge in his profession. He is Chief Engineer in the Army of the United States. I have sent him to examine into the nature and condition of the fortifications which have been erected, or are erecting, for the defence of the town of Boston on the land side, and to form a plan for a more complete system, so far as may be necessary and circumstances will permit. This is to be combined on the principle of a co-operation with the French fleet for mutual defence. He will communicate his plan to you; and, if you approve it, you will have it carried into execution. I have directed him at the same time to send me a duplicate for my information. I need not recommend to you the necessity, in adopting any plan, to have regard to the state of our finances and resources. This is a point too important to escape your attention.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

Gº Washington.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, 4th October, 1778.

Dear Sir, — I am to thank you for your favor of the 28th ult., and its several enclosures. The intelligence given you by Mr. Colvill is very interesting, if it can be depended on, and particularly to Count d'Estaing, to whom no doubt you have communicated it.

Your distribution of the twelve hundred militia-men ordered out by the Council of State exactly coincides with my wishes. Their labor, if it has not its immediate use, will remain a permanent security to the town, and, as you observe, give confidence and tranquillity to our allies.

Every intelligence of the progress of clothing is very acceptable to me, as it diminishes my anxiety, and opens the prospect of a happy completion of our wishes in this important article. The stopping a sufficient quantity for the invalids was perfectly right.

The enemy in the Jersey continue nearly in the same position as when I last had the pleasure of writing to you, and will probably retire as soon as they have secured their plunder. A packet is arrived at New York, which will probably determine General Clinton's plans.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

G.º Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Dear Sir, — Captains Gawen Brown, and John Langdon, and Lieutenant William Davis, of Colonel Henry Jackson's regiment, have requested to resign their commissions, and have lodged certificates that they are not indebted to the public. You will be pleased to call for their commissions, and to give discharges upon them. And as there are frequent applications by the officers employed at the eastward, of the same nature, and considerable time is spent in writing to and from Headquarters upon the subject, you will, upon future occasions, give discharges yourself upon the commissions, and transmit me an account of the same from time to time, that they may be properly registered and forwarded to the Board of War.

The enemy, who were in Jersey for several days past, have returned to New York again; and, by advices received yesterday, I believe it is certain that a considerable detachment, consisting of ten full regiments at least, is embarking. Their destination is not certainly known; but the current reports of deserters and other intelligence from York say they are going to the West Indies. There are some accounts, too, that say Charles Town is their ob-

ject. However, as it is possible that they may meditate a stroke against Boston, notwithstanding all reasoning seems against it, I mean to put a detachment from the army in motion, which will advance eastward as far as Connecticut River, till we are ascertained of their views.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. WASHINGTON.

P. S. The enclosed letter for the Marquis Devienne you will be pleased to deliver him as soon as you can. The officers of Jackson's regiment, mentioned above, are probably at Boston.

To Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, Boston.

HEADQUARTERS, FREDERICKSBURG,
20th Oct., 1778.

DEAR SIR, — In my last letter of the 18th instant, I observed that the whole current of intelligence from New York suggested an immediate evacuation of the city. My accounts from different quarters still wear the same complexion. An intelligent officer stationed at Amboy reports: "That the 16th October, about twelve ships fell down to the Hook; and the 17th, early in the morning, about one hundred ships of war and transports also fell down to the Hook." Lord Stirling, who transmitted this information, says that signal guns have been firing all day (17th) in New York Bay, which he supposes were for more ships to follow.

I am, dear sir, your most humble servant,

Gº. WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath, at Boston.

Headquarters, Fredericksburg,
24th Oct., 1778.

Dear Sir, — If the fleet of men of war and transports which have lately sailed, should appear off Boston, be pleased instantly to send an express to meet General Gates with information of it, that he may hasten the march of the six brigades under the command of himself and General McDougall. Be pleased also to advise me of it with the greatest despatch, as I mean, should such an event take place, to set out immediately, and take the command of the army at Boston.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. Endeavor to be certain that the enemy have troops off the harbor, as well as ships of war, before you advise General Gates. I think it very probable that the men of war may blockade the harbor, while the transports continue their course, should they have another destination. It is not my intention that the brigades should move further than Hartford, without the enemy actually attempt Boston.

To General Heath, Boston.

Headquarters, Fredericksburg,
27th Oct., 1778.

Dear Sir, — I have been favored with your letter of the 21st instant.

I have not received General Du Portail's plan of the works necessary for the defence of Boston, and therefore cannot determine the propriety of it. My wish is that such works as are essential to its safety, and only such, may be erected.

With respect to Captain McFall, as I know nothing of him, I can say nothing. He may be sincere in his profes-

sions, or he may be not, but I have no idea of giving him any assurances that he will obtain a commission in our service. Our credulity and indulgencies to persons of his character have been of no advantage; but, on the contrary, they have operated to our injury. I am not well apprised of the extent of Captain McFall's views; but if he has the firm attachment to us, which he seems to wish us to suppose, though he should be exchanged, and even be sent to Canada, he may easily find an opportunity to manifest it in a more convincing way than by mere declaration.

The Americans are generous; and, when satisfied that people are their friends, they are not wanting in hospitality and acts of benevolence.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. Things with respect to the enemy and us are in the same situation they were when I wrote you last.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, at Boston.

HEADQUARTERS, Nov. 3d, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — I have been favored with your several letters of the 23d, 26th, and 28th ult., the first and last of which came to hand last night and this morning.

On the 29th, I wrote you of the difficulties that attend the procuring of flour. The Commissary, I am persuaded, does not leave a step untried to obtain supplies; but it will be, at least, immensely difficult to do it. The loss of the biscuit was an event foreseen by many, and what might be reasonably expected. The enemy did not intercept any of our convoys of provisions, while they were in [*torn*] as you had heard.

With respect to the removal of the Convention troops, the Resolution of Congress, which was transmitted you,

requires the measure, and points out the only condition on which they could have remained. I was nothing more than a mere vehicle, an instrument in forwarding of it, that it might have the intended operation. It will be certainly best for their baggage to go by water into James River, from whence it may be transported to the falls, and from thence to the places where the troops are to quarter. If they have flag vessels of their own at Boston, or choose to provide them, the baggage had better go in them; if otherwise, you will direct proper ones to be provided for the occasion. In either case, it will be prudent for you and General Phillips, or Generals Reidesel and Hamilton, to sign the passports which it will be necessary to furnish. I should also suppose it advisable for one or more of their own quartermasters to go with the vessels.

I am, dear sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

P. S. My letter of the 29th enclosed a copy of a Resolve of Congress appointing General Gates to command in the eastern districts. I transmitted him a copy of the Resolution, directing the removal of the Convention troops, and write him by this conveyance upon the subject of their baggage, in case he should be at Boston.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, at Boston.

HEADQUARTERS, FREDERICKSBURG,
6th Nov., 1778.

DEAR SIR, — I have your favor of the 30th ult., by Captain Master, who waits in this neighborhood until he can hear from New York, having written to Sir Henry Clinton in order to effect his exchange. A Resolve of Congress lately passed put it out of my power to indulge his wish of going in himself.

From part of General Phillips's letter, I am led to believe that he had not received orders from you to prepare for his journey to Virginia; and, from your own, you seem to doubt of the propriety of his removal, until the terms mentioned in the opinion of the President of Congress shall be complied with. The late Resolve for the removal of the Convention troops being general, and subsequent to the opinion of the President, I think includes General Phillips, and justifies a change of his present situation.

I have mentioned this matter to General Gates, upon whom the command at Boston has by this time devolved, that if General Phillips should have remained behind, he may be directed to follow the troops.

I thank you for your caution in concealing the route from the officers of the Convention, although in the present situation of the enemy's affairs I do not think any danger is to be apprehended.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

G.º Washington.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, Middlebrook,
March 26th, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have been favored with your letter of the 11th instant, and I am also to acknowledge the receipt of the one that came by Mr. Holker.

When I wrote you on the 29th of October and the 6th of November, Congress seemed to apprehend that an attack might be made on Boston; and, indeed, it was the opinion of many. This consideration, as your services in such case might have been very essential there, and that of the campaign's approaching towards a conclusion, occasioned me not to point out any particular line of conduct for you; but it was my intention, against the opening of the ensuing one, to write you respecting your

future employment. This I should have done before, but my constant attention to business, while in Philadelphia, and since my return in arranging and carrying into execution what were there, and the subjects of deliberation, has prevented me from making an earlier communication on this head. I am now to request that you will prepare for setting out for the army about the first of May, by which time I shall inform you more particularly of your command, unless events or appearances should cast up in the interim, to render your stay where you now are material and necessary.

I am, dear sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MIDDLEBROOK,
15th May, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I enclose you a letter to the honorable the Council of Massachusetts, by which you will observe I am directed by Congress to appropriate the cannon lent this State to the defence of the posts on Hudson's River. I have to request you to seal the letter, and deliver it to the Council. And further, upon receiving the Council's permission, that you will take the most effectual and immediate measures to have the cannon sent forward to the posts on the highlands on the North River. For this purpose, you will be pleased to order the Quartermaster at Boston to procure proper teams to transport them, have receipts taken for them by the Commissary of Military Stores, and appoint a careful and active person to superintend their conveyance, with such other steps as may appear necessary to forward their transportation.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Middlebrook,
26th May, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have duly received your favor of the 8th inst., with its enclosures. I have reason to hope that the extremity of distress to which the troops at the eastward have been exposed for want of bread will be relieved, and that the Commissary will have it in his power to prevent its happening again. The state of our money involves a variety of distracting difficulties which are rather to be lamented than remedied. If I am rightly informed, a present supply has lately been sent on to the Quartermaster at Springfield, which I hope will enable him to forward the stores from that place. The army must suffer greatly, if they meet with any extraordinary delay. I am satisfied of your exertions to do every thing circumstances will permit.

As the army will now shortly take the field, and a general disposition must be made for the campaign, I am to request you will forthwith repair to headquarters.

I am, with very great esteem, dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

New Windsor, June 25th, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have received your two favors this morning. I have only to request you will take the best measures in your power to ascertain the enemy's movements and designs, and have your troops in readiness to act as occasion may require, but without interrupting the works. You will continue to advise me.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

P. S. I think it will be advisable to detach a couple hundred men towards Robinson's stores at Mahopack

Pond, to march light and with caution, endeavoring to magnify their number to the inhabitants. This may serve to check the enemy, and help to discover their design.

G° W—N.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
June 30, 1779.

Dear Sir, — In consideration of the scarcity of forage where you now are, and the plenty which you mention to be at the Continental village, I think it will be best for one or both the brigades, Parsons's and Huntington's, to move to that place. Nixon's will remain where it is.

In this position, it will be necessary to be very vigilant against a surprise, particularly from a sudden movement of the enemy by water. I doubt not you will use every proper precaution.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

P. S. As I wish to have the works at West Point prosecuted vigorously as a primary object, perhaps, if it can be done with safety, it will be best to let Huntington's brigade go to the village and Parsons's remain where it is to assist in forwarding the works. I leave this, however, to your discretion.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
June 30, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I wrote you this morning by General Woodford. I am glad to find the ideas of your letter correspond with mine. You will act accordingly. It is the more necessary to proceed with caution, as I have just received advice from General Gates that a considerable detachment sailed from Rhode Island the 25th instant,

steering a western course. This seems to indicate some serious design this way.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

Gº. Washington.

To General Heath.

New Windsor, July 3, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have duly received your favors of the 1st, 2d, and the present date. I do not yet know in what light Captain Cole will be considered, whether as a prisoner of war or a citizen. I have written to Major Tallmadge to inform me of the circumstances of his capture. The deserters to Bedford, I think, had better go to Connecticut. Directions will be given for purchasing their arms, and as to the sum to be paid for them.

You will represent to Doctor Foster, the Purveyor, and Doctor Turner, the Surgeon-General, the deficiency of instruments, bandages, &c., and urge them to supply them as soon as possible.

Enclosed, you will receive the report of a committee of officers of the right wing, in which they enter into a voluntary engagement not to purchase certain articles but at a limited price. This has originated with themselves; and though I do not expect much from it, yet as they have entered into the measure, and as its utility and success depend on its being general, I send it to you to take the sense of the officers under your command. The experiment can do no harm, and it may do good.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

To Major-General Heath, at Mandeville.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
July 10th, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have received repeated intelligence this morning that, besides the detachment which went from New Haven, the enemy in considerable force was moving by land towards Horse Neck, with a good many pieces of artillery and a large number of waggons. My accounts are that the first mentioned detachment had left New Haven, gone to Fairfield, burnt the town, reimbarked, and were off Norwalk, where 'tis imagined they will land, destroy that place, and the two bodies join to ravage and distress the country. The militia are said to be assembling with great spirit; but, in order to keep up that spirit and give efficacy to their exertions, I have determined to send the two Connecticut brigades that way, under your command. You will therefore be pleased to march tomorrow morning as early as possible, in the first instance towards Crompond, thence by way of Bedford or Bridgefield, as circumstances may point out, regulating your movements by those of the enemy, giving all the aid and countenance you can, consistent with prudence, to the militia to repress their depredations, and keeping in view your communication with the forts, should the enemy return to make a movement against them. The present may only be a diversion of our force, the better to facilitate an enterprise on this river. To guard against the success of such a plan, you will take every measure in your power to watch the enemy's motions, and will so far make yours correspond as to be in measure with them in this quarter, so far as it may be practicable.

You will direct Colonel Moylan with the cavalry and infantry under his command to join you at such place as you may think proper.

You will open a correspondence with General Parsons,

whose information of the movements of the militia will enable you better to regulate yours; and you will be pleased to advise me daily of your progress, the progress of the enemy, and of every material occurrence.

General Glover marched the 7th inst. from Providence to join this army. The enclosed will show you the last orders given him. This is on a supposition the enemy would have returned from their excursion. But, if their ravages should continue, you will give such orders to him, to join you or otherwise, as circumstances may require.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. Be pleased to forward the enclosed to General Parsons.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

NORWALK, July 14th, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favor of the 12th at Amewalk, and, on account of the pressing situation of affairs, have written to Colonel Lamb, at Fishkill, to send to your care twenty-five thousand cartridges, which you will distribute among the militia, if there is really a necessity for it. I cannot send more. The respective States in general, as I have been informed, have good supplies of military stores of their own; and the militia must be furnished by them. If large or frequent drafts are made upon our stock, we shall want ourselves.

I enclose you a letter from his Excellency the President of Congress, which came to hand last night.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. I am much at a loss to know where General Clinton and the main body of his forces are. It is a matter

of importance that I should be advised of their situation and movements. You will endeavor to have a good watch kept, and will acquaint me with them in your correspondences. The militia should be cautioned to make good use of their ammunition. Firing at a great distance answers no purpose, which it is said by some accounts was too much the case at Norwalk.

To Major-General Heath, at Canaan.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
July 16th, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of the 14th with its enclosures.

I would not wish you to advance further eastward, unless the movements of the enemy's main body in that direction should make it necessary. It is my intention that your division should, as far as possible, preserve a relative position to, and insure a timely communication with, the Highland posts. This may not be practicable, if the enemy remain where they are, and you advance far eastward.

At present there is an additional reason for your being near us. I have the pleasure to inform you that last night Brigadier-General Wayne, with the light infantry, surprised and took Stony Point, with the whole garrison, cannon and stores, with the loss of a very few killed and wounded. No officer lost. General Wayne received a slight scratch with a musket-ball in his head. This may produce some consequent movements, which will require the aid of your division. You will therefore hold yourself in complete readiness, and send off with all despatch to hasten on Glover's brigade to join you.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To General Heath, at Canaan.

Headquarters, West Point,
July 16, 1779.

Dear Sir, — You will be pleased to march to-morrow morning early towards Peekskill, in the vicinity of which you will find Major-General Howe, with a couple of brigades. The command of the whole will, of course, devolve upon you. He will communicate the instructions he has received, by which you will govern yourself. Send to hasten on Glover's brigade to join you at the same place.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

You may move with expedition, but not so as to fatigue your troops, unless the movements of the enemy should require it.

To General Heath.

Stony Point, July the 17th, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have been favored with your two letters of the 15th. I wrote you yesterday upon the subject of your conduct, and now enclose you a copy, lest my letter should have miscarried. I have written to General Glover, and commit the letter to your care, which you will forward to him, if you have not already given him orders to join you with his brigade, in consequence of my letter of yesterday. General Howe has directions to open a battery as soon as possible against the enemy's works on Verplank's Point, and to carry on matters as vigorously as he can for the reduction of the garrison. When you arrive, as the command will devolve upon you, you must make the instructions to him the rule of your action.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

P. S. If there should be occasion to send General Glover's letter, seal it. I will speak to the Commissary about the wheat you mention.

To Major-General Heath.

Stony Point, July 18, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of yesterday. From the information I have had, it is probable you will have joined General Howe before this reaches you. I have given him instructions which he was directed to communicate to you. But, for fear of a miscarriage, I shall repeat them. It was directed that one of the four brigades, which compose your two commands, should be stationed in the gorge of the mountains, and that the other three should proceed to possess the highlands opposite to West Point, on the east side, and this without delay.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

West Point, July 19, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of the 18th, and two of to-day. The disposition you mention to have made of the troops will stand till further orders. You will write to General Glover, and direct him to halt with his brigade at Ridgefield, where he will remain till he is further instructed. I am much fatigued; and, as I shall see you in the course of a day or two, I shall not add any thing more upon the present occasion.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

P. S. Your third favor of this date has just come to hand. You will send the two twelve-pounders to New Windsor. The officer who came with them from the park

will return with them, and also their ammunition waggons, &c. The intrenching tools sent to General Howe should be kept collected, and no loss of them suffered.

To Major-General Heath, at Mandeville.

Headquarters, July 24th, 1779.

Dear Sir, — Your favor of this morning, enclosing a letter from Captain Hopkins, I have just received.

The present situation of the enemy and our ignorance of their designs induces me again to express my anxiety that you should use your utmost exertions to obtain a knowledge of their plan. I know of no means so effectual as that of employing a faithful inhabitant, if you can meet with such a one. By giving the necessary instructions in this way, good intelligence may be had.

You will be pleased to order Colonel Moylan to collect his horse and join General Glover, under whose command he will be for the present.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G.º Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, July the 25th, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I am extremely anxious to obtain accurate information of the garrison and works on Verplank's Point. I therefore request that you will have the post as particularly and critically examined as you can. The officers sent on the duty will endeavor to ascertain whether there are new works constructed or raising, their number and their nature, whether enclosed or otherwise, and in what part. They will also attend to the appearance and number of the tents, as those may in some measure assist in forming an estimate of the enemy's force. If there should be any deserters or persons met, who have been in the garrison, and in whom confidence can be

placed, the officers will inquire particularly of them what corps compose it, and the strength of each; also what quantity of artillery there is, and the size, and who commands at the post. In case they inquire of the country people who have been in, they should be well convinced of their attachment, as otherwise the enemy may be informed of the circumstance, and from thence be alarmed, and induced to observe a more vigilant conduct than they might have done.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. I send by the boat Elisha Daniels. His story is that he lived at Crompond, went to the enemy since they took post at Verplank's Point, and deserted from them a few days ago. You will have him kept under guard till you can inform yourself of his character and the circumstances that attended his going in and his return, when you will be able to determine whether he may be released with propriety.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, July 30, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have received your letter of this day. Captain Hopkins's conduct really deserves applause, and shows a spirit of enterprise that does him honor. I beg you, in your next, to present my thanks to him.

In what I said to Colonel Harrison respecting a work to be erected in the gorge of the mountains, I did not mean to confine you to any particular spot, but to leave it to you to choose the most advantageous. My idea is to have some place occupied, which will best command the road, to be defended by musketry, to which the troops stationed in that quarter may have recourse on a sudden emergency and be secured from insult, in case of an attempt to surprise them by a superior number. This will be so far an

advantage to us, and can be of little service to the enemy. 'Tis not intended to oppose a serious movement in force.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

I shall be glad of the favor of your company, and that of the gentlemen of your family to-morrow at dinner.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, and other general officers of the Board, at his quarters.

WEST POINT, Aug. 3d, 1779.

GENTLEMEN, — I hoped, after the pains you had taken to arrange the Massachusetts line, that neither of us would be troubled farther upon the subject. In this, however, I have been disappointed. When I was about to transmit the arrangement to Congress, the enclosed memorial from sundry officers was presented me by Colonel Bayley. It seems from their state that Mr. Banister was originally appointed paymaster to Shepard's regiment. I learn from Colonel Bayley that this was the case, and that he acted in this capacity a few months, till Learned's promotion as a brigadier; and ever after as a brigade-major to the brigade assigned him, which, since his resignation, has been generally commanded by Colonel Bayley, in whose regiment the memorialists are. I also enclose a copy of the Resolutions of Congress respecting the introduction of brigade-majors and paymasters into the line. The Board will be pleased to consider the memorial, and to confirm, alter, or entirely do away the arrangement of Mr. Banister, as they may think best.

I am convinced that no arrangement that can be made will give universal satisfaction.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect and esteem, gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath, at Mandeville.

Headquarters, West Point,
10th Aug., 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have just now received your two favors of this date, enclosing General Parsons's letter on the detention of Leach.

The propriety of the proposed attempt on Lloyd's Neck can be best determined by those who are nearer the ground than I am, and whose inquiries may have been more particular, as to the exact situation and strength of the enemy, in its vicinity. If you find a favorable report, I have no objection to the undertaking. I cannot, however, consent to a Brigadier-general's taking the command of so small a party as is to be employed; but, besides the military impropriety, I should not like to hazard his loss for the prospect of taking twenty-five or thirty men.

Respecting the distribution of the recruits from the State of Connecticut, you will be pleased to give orders for such a proportion of them to be applied to each company or regiment as to make each of the same strength, or as nearly so as possible.

It appears to me that Leach should be sent into the enemy, as we have some time since received an equivalent, and as the faith of the State has been pledged for his exchange. You may therefore order him to their lines as soon as you think proper.

I am, dear sir, your most humble servant,

Go. Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, West Point,
10th Aug., 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have to acknowledge your favor of this day with its enclosure to your address from General Nixon.

The apprehending of Rizimbarac is worth a little trouble. I have therefore sent back deserter Nifer, and would recommend the using him as a pilot to the place he has pointed out as Rizimbarac's residence. You may send with him three or four trusty soldiers and a sergeant, under proper instructions. They should be particularly directed to avoid insulting Rizimbarac's family, or daring to plunder any thing whatsoever.

I am, dear sir, your most humble servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, August the 18th, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your letter of this date. The intercourse which you mention to be carrying on by women, with Verplank's Point, may be attended with many bad consequences, or at least great inconveniences, and must be suppressed. Those now detained may be released under strict injunctions never to do the like again, and at the peril of being closely confined and otherwise severely punished, if they are detected. General Nixon will have this idea propagated as generally as he can; and if the women will persevere in the practice, however disagreeable the measure, they must be sent to camp, and be at least confined in the provost.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

WEST POINT, Aug. 21st, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I have the pleasure to inform you that, in the night of the 18th, Major Lee, with a detachment of four hundred men, surprised the enemy's garrison at Paulus Hook (which you know is within cannon-shot of the batteries at New York), and brought off the garrison consisting of about one hundred and fifty men.

Such repeated instances of disgrace to the British arms will undoubtedly make them feel sore, and seek opportunities to retaliate upon such parts of our army as are most accessible, than which none is more exposed than Nixon's and Glover's brigades. To this effect, I have already written to General Howe, and wish you to give, and indeed see, that the necessary precautions are used to guard Nixon from a surprise.

The spirit of enterprise which is already gone forth, and hitherto crowned with success, should not be checked, but confined to proper objects, and such as appear to be fully within our reach. Should it be found, therefore, that the enemy advance pickets beyond their works at Verplank's Point, cannot they be taken off, and a snare laid for the pursuers, if any attempt is made to rescue the prisoners? To me the thing seems easy, and only requires the necessary information, which an enterprising and judicious officer who might be intrusted with the execution would soon obtain, without betraying the design of his inquiries.

Pray is General Parsons from camp still? If he is, and no very good reason assigned for it, I think he should be required to join his brigade.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, 26th Aug., 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I have been favored with yours of yesterday, enclosing a representation by Captain Heywood of the treatment of his flag, and a letter from General Huntingdon on the subject of the deficiency of rations. I have wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, remonstrating against the indelicacy of such behavior, and hoping that no such insult will be offered in future. You will be pleased to send the enclosed to Verplank's Point.

I will have reference to the different regulations that have been made respecting rations, and will give an answer to the contents of General Huntingdon's letter, as soon as I have satisfied myself on the line of conduct that ought to be pursued.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

G.º Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

West Point, Aug. 29th, 1779.

Dear Sir, — That the long expected fleet is arrived admits of no doubt, though the strength of the reinforcement is matter of uncertainty. If it is so powerful as to enable the King's troops to take the field with a view of meeting this army, General Clinton will not, it is to be presumed, delay the commencement of his operations a moment; because a knowledge of the event must have produced preparatory arrangements for the consequent movements.

Under this view and expectation, we, also, should neglect nothing by which we can derive any advantage; and, as nothing is more essential than a thorough knowledge of ground on which operations offensive or defensive are to be performed, I earnestly desire that you will recommend it to all the officers under your command (now in the Highlands) to make themselves masters, not only of the great and leading roads from the enemy's lines, but all by-paths, and even the woods, that defiles may be known and defended to good effect, ambuscades formed, and the enemy's flanks gained with more ease, and, if possible, unsuspected.

I would have the baggage of Nixon's and the Connecticut brigades held in such readiness as to disencumber yourself of it at the shortest warning; and every thing fit for action, as the enemy's movements, when they

become serious, will, more than probably, be vigorous and rapid.

I have directed General Howe (if circumstances did not permit the immediate execution of the enterprise he had in contemplation) to incline a little this way. Lord Stirling has the same orders, that our force, under the uncertainty of the enemy's strength and designs, may be a little more compacted.

I am, with great esteem and regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, WEST POINT,
3d Sept., 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I am just now favored with your letter of to-day, with its enclosures, which I return.

I do not see that any further measures can be taken, on your part, to apprehend those prisoners who have escaped, or to prevent their gaining the enemy's lines.

It will be necessary, on this occasion, to order the person who had the principal charge of the provost, provided he is an officer, under arrest. If a sergeant, he must be confined and tried for suffering the escape. You will be pleased, therefore, to give the proper order for this purpose.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, WEST POINT,
Sept. 6th, 1779.

SIR, — Enclosed, you will find a representation from Captain Titus Watson, of the Connecticut line, in which he states his having been injured by the promotion of Captain Cleft, a junior officer, to a majority, in violation of his rights as a senior officer, and urges the determina-

tion of a board of officers to this effect, of which he produces certificates, which are also enclosed. As Captain Watson states that the arrangement of the Connecticut line was made in his absence, which might have prevented a proper knowledge of facts, and as the proceedings of the Board of Officers do not appear to have been reported to Headquarters or the Board of War, it is necessary the case should have a re-hearing, that, if Captain Watson has really been injured, he may have redress. You will therefore be pleased to appoint a second board of officers, consisting of the field officers of the Connecticut line, except Major Cleft, to ascertain the relative rank of Captains Cleft and Watson, previous to the promotion of the former to a majority, and to inquire into the principles upon which that promotion was made. You will transmit the proceedings of the board to me.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, Sept. 13, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — You will be pleased to put General Nixon's brigade under marching orders, that it may be ready to move at the shortest notice. You will receive further directions for its destination.

You will also send off in the morning early, to Fishkill, a subaltern's guard of chosen men to take charge of the French minister's baggage when it arrives there, and escort it to Philadelphia. Let the officer be of address, and the men of good appearance.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, West Point,
14th Sept., 1779.

Dear Sir, — It is my intention that General Nixon shall form a junction with General Howe, at Pine's Bridge, Croton River. This you will communicate to him, and send to General Howe to know when he expects to be there, and let General Nixon begin his march, so as to arrive there nearly at the same time with him. You will give General Nixon your instructions accordingly, and advise him to be cautious in his march, lest the enemy at King's Ferry should attempt any stroke upon him, which, however, is not very probable.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G°. Washington.

P. S. I have written to General Howe on this subject yesterday. When General Nixon moves, you will provide for the security of your own camp by proper pickets, &c.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, West Point,
Sept. 18th, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have your favors of the 14th and 17th. General Knox is just now absent; but, when he returns, I will inquire into the necessity of keeping the guard you mention, at Litchfield.

North Castle church would certainly be a very ineligible situation for General Howe. From his letter to me, he had not taken post there, but was rather reconnoitring a proper position. I had a particular object in view when I ordered the troops to move to Pine's Bridge; but now, seeing little or no probability of the matter's taking place which induced me to send them down, I have therefore directed General Howe to march again with Glover's

and Nixon's brigades to the neighborhood of Lower Salem.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

Be pleased to forward the enclosed to General Howe immediately.

I have, since writing the above, met with a conveyance for it.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH,
at Mandeville's house.

WEST POINT, 26th Sept., 1779.

DEAR SIR, — As it is an object of importance to have ascertained as soon as possible the account which is said to have been brought by a vessel arrived at New London, out of which Captain Johnson was taken on board Count D'Estaing's fleet, in the latitude of Bermudas, I would therefore wish you to despatch, without loss of time, an officer, intelligent in marine affairs, to New London, to learn the particulars from the person who commands the vessel in which Captain Johnson was, with such other information of the Count's fleet and destination as can be obtained.

I should prefer Lieutenant Lee, who has been employed on a business of this nature before (provided the journey is agreeable to himself), as his former report was extremely clear and satisfactory.

The utmost expedition is to be used, both in going and in returning, to facilitate which I herewith enclose for the officer an order on all quartermasters to furnish him occasionally with fresh horses.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, West Point,
27th Sept., 1779.

Dear Sir, — You will be pleased to hasten the departure of the officer who was to have gone to the eastward by yesterday's instructions, — with this alteration, that he is to call on Governor Trumbull in the first instance, and, if his information should be satisfactory, to return immediately to Headquarters. If not, he is to proceed to Dartmouth, and gain the proper information from the master of the vessel out of which the Count is said to have taken Captain Gardiner. He may call at General Gates's in his way to Dartmouth. You will recommend to him the greatest expedition.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, 1st Oct., 1779.

Dear Sir, — You wrote to me a few days ago respecting a small guard that is kept at Litchfield, upon the military stores there. I could not give you an answer then, as I had not seen General Knox. He now tells me that there is a necessity for their remaining, more especially as he is obliged to withdraw a small detachment of artillery who are there. Be pleased to direct the non-commissioned officer who commands the guard to take his orders from Mr. Richards, deputy-commissary of stores at Litchfield.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. Will it not be better to relieve the non-commissioned officer, and send an ensign with a small subaltern's command? A non-commissioned officer is scarcely competent to the task.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, 20th Oct, 1779.

Dear Sir, — Yours of the 15th, enclosing two letters from General Parsons, on the subject of the claims of rank of several officers in the Connecticut line, came to my hands a few days ago. To admit a revival of claims, after the line has been arranged and commissions issued in consequence, would set the whole afloat again, and would inevitably produce that general discontent and disorder by which we had been so long perplexed. I have for that reason been obliged to refuse all applications of a similar nature.

The case of Major Cleft and Captain Watson, which very probably, as you observe, has given rise to the applications above referred to, was peculiarly circumstanced. They were excepted when the other parts of the arrangement were completed, as some proofs necessary to support their respective claims could not then be obtained. Their dispute affected each other only, and did not interfere with the rank of any other officers.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, 24th Oct., 1779.

Dear Sir, — For the reasons assigned in yours of this date, and to protect the communication by King's Ferry, I think the Connecticut division may as well move down as low as the neighborhood of Peekskill, leaving a sufficient party to continue the work at the two redoubts. I shall direct Colonel Gouvion to lay out two small works at Verplanck's and Stony Points. You will be pleased to order the one on Verplanck's to be executed by the men of your division. The troops may move as soon as you have fixed on a proper place of encampment near Verplanck's.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

West Point, Oct. 24, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have received your letter of yesterday, and can assure you that no measures have been wanting on my part to obtain commissions for the Massachusetts line, in consequence of the late arrangement. As soon as it was finished, it was transmitted to Congress, with an earnest request that it might be committed to the Board of War, if it was approved; that the commissions might be issued. Since Congress approved it, I have more than once requested the Board to lose no time in forwarding the commissions; and, so late as the 12th instant, I wrote them in pressing terms upon the subject. From these considerations, and the Board's attention to expediting business, I cannot but persuade myself that they will arrive in the course of a few days, or at least as soon as circumstances will permit. It is possible, besides the time it necessarily takes to fill up between four and five hundred commissions, and to record and enter them in a book, that a want of blanks may have occurred; also, the late change of Presidents may have occasioned some difficulties. I know there are many instances, as you observe, where promotions have been made in orders; but these, in most cases, where directed by me, were either founded in pressing necessity, or where I conceived I had authority to do it. From some regulations which have lately taken place on the subject of commissions, promotions, and vacancies, and which induced me to transmit the Massachusetts arrangement in the first instance to Congress, it is my wish to interfere with them as little as possible. As I have already mentioned, I cannot but hope that a few days will put every officer in possession of his commission.

I am happy to hear that the re-enlisting of the troops is attended with success, and I persuade myself the officers will use their best endeavors to promote it. The Continental bounty is two hundred dollars, and all the

enlistments must be during the war. No other mode of enlistment is admissible.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, WEST POINT,
27th Oct., 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I am just now informed that the enemy landed yesterday morning at Amboy (said to be five thousand), and were advancing towards Brunswic. Their design is not yet known; but a forage, or an attempt to interrupt the communication from the southward, is most probable. The Virginia division and the light infantry have in consequence moved from the neighborhood of Kakeate, lower down. Till we are assured of the enemy's views, I think it most advisable to draw our force in this quarter together; and I have therefore requested General Howe, by the enclosed (which be pleased to seal and forward), to move up and join you near Peekskill.

I had determined that the work upon Stony Point should be executed by the Virginia troops and the light infantry; but, as they have left that neighborhood, I must request you to send a party over to carry on the work, at least till the Virginians have resumed their station, or some other troops shall have taken up their ground. Be pleased to direct your quartermaster to provide tools necessary for the purpose, if he has not already got them.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath, Peekskill.

Headquarters, West Point,
1st Nov., 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have your favor of yesterday. I am sorry to hear of Colonel Russell's death, of whose indisposition I had not known.

Lieutenant-Colonel Shearman's right of promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant in consequence must be reported to the State of Connecticut by the brigadiers of that line, agreeable to the terms of the late general order, as must also the names of the subalterns of the 8th Regiment entitled to promotion in consequence of Colonel Russell's death. The State will signify their approbation to the Board of War, who will issue commissions accordingly. Then, and not before, Colonel Shearman will assume his new command.

I have this day issued a general order, which will in future prevent sending men from the infantry and retaining their arms.

I have Captain Cartwright's affair under consideration, and will give you my opinion on the subject the moment I come to a determination.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G°. Washington.

P. S. Where men of the same State, not enlisted for the war, choose to engage for that term on condition of changing their regiments, it has been invariably allowed.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, West Point,
6th Nov., 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have your favor of the 4th. Shoes for the Massachusetts line must be drawn by the State clothier or his assistant for the line at large, and distributed according to their wants. If he will apply, he may have

an order upon the Clothier-General for a proportion of the public stock, which is at present scanty.

I have no power to give Colonel Hazen authority to enlist the troops of any State before their term of service is expired. Such an attempt would, I am convinced, create much discontent.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, near Peekskill.

HEADQUARTERS, WEST POINT,
Nov. 16, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I was from home yesterday, when yours of the 14th came to hand. I have no doubt but you are sufficiently distressed for forage in your quarter, as we are in this. All prospect of our expected co-operation being at an end, I purpose to move the troops towards their places of winter cantonments as speedily as possible. With this view, you will be pleased to throw the two Connecticut brigades, with their horses, waggons, tents, and baggage across the river as expeditiously as possible, and let them encamp as near to Stony Point as they can find good ground, wood, and water.

It is my wish to indulge the officers with an opportunity of visiting their friends and families between this and the next campaign, as far as the service will possibly admit of it. I would therefore desire them to settle the matter of priority of furlough among themselves; and I must request you, in granting them, to observe the following rule strictly. One field officer to remain with every regiment, and, if possible, two, and as many captains and subs as are sufficient to do the regimental duty, and take care of the companies. The times of furlough must be such as will enable those who do not go at first to have a reasonable time after the return of those who will go at present.

I observe many of the left wing returned wanting clothes, which I suppose to be principally shoes. The State clothiers of those lines wanting them ought to apply, if they have not already done it.

I am so exceedingly anxious to have the works at King's Ferry completed, before the army goes into quarters, that I wish you would increase the number of fatigue to the utmost.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. I have barely heard that the allied troops were repulsed in an attempt upon the enemy at Savannah. The siege was raised, and the cannon and stores brought off. I have not the particulars, and would not wish this to be communicated officially.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, WEST POINT,
Nov. 18th, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I was yesterday favored with yours of that date. I wish it was in my power to comply with your request for leave of absence at this time, but such will be the state of the army in regard to general officers that I shall be left very destitute of assistance. General Sullivan has requested the liberty of Congress to retire from the service. General Putnam has obtained a short leave of absence, and General McDougall informs me that from some alarming symptoms of the stone he imagines he shall be under the necessity of laying by for the winter. General Greene's attention is sufficiently taken up by the affairs of his department. Several others, who have not seen their families a long time past, will expect that liberty this winter. From the above view, you will perceive that your presence will be indispensably necessary, at least for a time. Should circumstances admit of

your visiting your family in the course of the winter, I shall be glad to indulge you.

I am again reduced to the necessity of acting the part of Clothier-General, and have been forming estimates to make a delivery duly proportioned to the wants of the army, and the scanty stock on hand. If the sub-clothiers of Connecticut and Massachusetts will apply for their proportion of the clothing in store, they shall have an order. But I beg you may request them, in making their returns, to make an allowance for their State supplies in hand, or for what they shortly expect. Mr. Wilkinson, the Clothier-General, writes me from Philadelphia that Mr. Whitlerry, the purchasing agent for Connecticut, informs him that he has provided "a competency of shirts, shoes, hats, and underclothes." This being the case, they ought to draw no more of the above than they are absolutely in need of at present. I have also heard that the State clothier of Massachusetts has lately received a supply of shirts, but I cannot tell how many. The sooner the clothiers apply, the better.

I am in hopes, from the returns of the Commissary, that we shall rub through, notwithstanding the alarming state of our magazines of bread. The uncommon long spell of dry weather has stopped most of the mills above, which is the true reason of our present scarcity.

When the two Connecticut brigades are over, be pleased to direct Colonel Hazen to follow with his regiment, waggons, and baggage.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, West Point,
20th Nov., 1779.

Dear Sir, — I was last night favored with yours of yesterday. The two Connecticut brigades are to encamp on the west side of the river, as it may be a day or two before they march. All detachments from those brigades should be called in, upon giving the Adjutant-General notice that he may relieve them by others, except the party under the command of Major Throop, at work upon the redoubts, which cannot conveniently be relieved till one of the Massachusetts brigades moves up to West Point.

The officers going home upon furlough cannot be allowed to draw rations during their absence: it is unprecedented, and would lead in the end to very great drafts upon our magazines at a distance.

I have at length the pleasure of transmitting the commissions for Nixon's and Glover's brigades. The Secretary of the Board of War apologizes for the long delay, which was occasioned by want of parchment, and by the change of presidents, which latter circumstance obliged a number of the commissions to have Mr. Jay's name erased after it was inserted.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

Go. Washington.

The officers are ordered by the general orders of the day to take their places in the regiment to which they are appointed.

General Heath.

Headquarters, West Point,
22d Nov., 1779.

Dear Sir, — I received your favor of the 21st last night, and have this morning transmitted an extract respecting the want of flour to the Commissary-General,

requesting him to take the most immediate and effectual measures to procure a proper supply. Till this can be done, you will use the best means in your power to keep the troops in temper. The want of rain is the great reason of our deficiencies in this article. When this falls, we shall be amply supplied.

As the general objects of your command will be more within your reach at your old quarters at Mandeville's, and as you may be more at your quiet in this place, I think you had better move up, leaving the command where you are to General Howe; that is, provided the state of your health will admit of the change.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, 23d Nov., 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I am favored with yours of this date, enclosing a number of permits signed by General Pattison, allowing goods to be sent out of New York. I think, with you, that an allowance of a thing of this kind would be attended with most pernicious consequences, and to which I do not think myself authorized to assent.

Those who have Governor Clinton's permission to come out, and bring their effects, must be allowed to pass; but I think every thing wanting this sanction should be sent back.

I am certain the Commissaries have no Indian corn; but I am in hopes the late rain, though trifling, will afford a supply of flour in a short time.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, West Point,
25th Nov., 1779.

Dear Sir, — If the two Connecticut brigades have crossed, be pleased [to] direct Colonel Hazen to follow as expeditiously as possible, if he is not already over. He may be directed to march without loss of time, if the Virginia division has moved, to Sufferan's (by the new road lately repaired by General Woodford, which leaves Kakeate on his left), thence to Pompton, and by Rockaway Bridge towards Morristown. Before he arrives at Morristown, he will receive directions from General Greene for his further route. Should the Virginia troops not have moved, Colonel Hazen will wait for that, and follow immediately after.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

P. S. Be pleased to direct Colonel Hazen, if he hears nothing further from me, to join General Hand's brigade, when he comes up with it.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, West Point,
27th Nov., 1779.

Dear Sir, — In making my arrangements for the disposition of the army this winter, I have found it necessary to assign the command of the posts upon the North River to you. Enclosed, you will find instructions for your government.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pawling, with the York militia, has undertaken to finish the redoubt upon Stony Point. You will therefore have no further occasion to send a fatigue party from Nixon's and Glover's; and I think you had better consult Colonel Gouvion upon the number of men necessary to finish the work upon Verplanck's, who may

continue at it, while the remainder of those two brigades proceed to the business of hutting with all possible expedition, should you determine to post them both upon the east side of the river.

The companies of artillery attached to Nixon's and Glover's brigades, with their pieces, are to join the park in Jersey when the brigades move to their quarters. They are to proceed from King's Ferry to Sufferan's by the short road (leaving Kakeate on the left), and from thence to the place fixed upon for the park, which, I apprehend, will be in the neighborhood of Morristown.

I do not at present recollect any thing more than what is contained in the above, and in your instructions. I sincerely wish a recovery of your health, and that you may enjoy good and quiet winter quarters, and am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. I do not know whether the articles you want are in the store, but I enclose you an order for them, in case they should be there.

To Major-General Heath.

Sir, — You, being appointed to the command of the posts upon the North River, will forthwith proceed to West Point or the vicinity of it. All the posts on the North River, from King's Ferry inclusively, upwards, will be comprehended within the limits of your command. The troops destined for the garrison of these posts, and under your immediate command, will be the four Massachusetts brigades. General Poor's brigade, stationed at Danbury, will also be subject to your direction, should the enemy, by their movements in the course of the winter, seem seriously to threaten the garrison of West Point.

I need not observe to you that West Point is to be con-

sidered the first and principal object of your attention. I am persuaded you will neglect nothing conducive to its security, and will have the works erecting for its defence prosecuted with all the vigor and expedition in your power, and that circumstances will admit of. You are fully sensible of their importance, and how much their completion will ease and disembarrass our future general operations.

For the greater security of the detached redoubts, and those upon Constitution Island, I had directed that the bomb-proofs (where there were any) should be fitted up for the lodgement of the men stationed in them, and suitable barracks erected for the officers; and it is my wish that there should be in every redoubt a sufficiency of covering for the men and officers destined for its defence, that, should the enemy move up during such weather as requires men to be under shelter, they may remain conveniently in them, without a constant relief. The construction and position of these barracks must be left to your own judgment, and that of the engineers appointed to superintend this business.

It would be my wish to have three of the brigades stationed upon West Point, and the other in the neighborhood of the Continental village, where General Nixon hutted last winter, if those huts can be again made habitable, and there is a sufficiency of wood. But should you be of the prevailing opinion that not more than two brigades can be conveniently quartered upon the point, on account of covering, fuel, &c., you may post another upon the east side of the river, so near as to afford instant assistance, should it be wanted. Should this be determined upon, I am informed that there is a good position half a mile on this side of Mr. Bud's, on the road between Fishkill and West Point. Not having viewed this ground, I only mention it to you, that you may take it, if it pleases you upon inspection.

As soon as the works at King's Ferry are finished and fit to receive garrisons, you will post a proper number of officers and men in each, to be relieved every fourteen days, monthly, or as often as you think proper, provided stationary garrisons (on account of the superior care and attention which will be given by the officers and men to the defences, covering, &c.) should not be preferred to either, in which case you have my consent to adopt the latter. And that the communication by the ferry may be made as little as possible an object for the enemy, you will cause all provision or stores of any kind to be constantly moved off, immediately upon their arrival there.

I would recommend, if our supplies will admit, that two months' provision should always be before hand at West Point, and in the works at King's Ferry. I have directed the Commissary accordingly. And I would also wish that those detached redoubts which have magazines in them should have one month's extra provision for the men necessary for their defence laid up in them.

You will, at your own discretion, keep light parties, under the command of a field officer, advanced down towards the White Plains, to cover the country and gain information of the movements of the enemy.

You are acquainted with the previous steps to be taken by the inhabitants of the State who may want to go into or come out of New York with their effects, which you will strictly adhere to. But should you find it necessary, for the purpose of gaining intelligence, to permit any persons to go into New York, you may do it in that case, without consulting his Excellency Governor Clinton.

As many of the officers under your command will have occasion to visit their families, I would have you desire them to agree among themselves who shall first take furloughs, the term of which should be such as to enable those who are to go home upon their return to spend a

reasonable time with their families before the opening of the campaign. I would wish two field officers to remain with a regiment (but I must insist upon one as indispensable), and as many regimental officers as are necessary for the care of the men and for common duties. Of the soldiers enlisted for the war or who have a considerable time to serve, not more than two to a company or eighteen to a regiment to be furloughed at a time, and those such as are well recommended by their officers.

Perhaps some of those whose times are near expiring would re-enlist for the war, upon an immediate furlough. Should there be any such, for whose faithful return their former officers will undertake to vouch, I think it would be well to indulge them, if they require it as an inducement. But the greatest caution will be necessary, otherwise the bounty money will be thrown away. Some, whose times are near expiring, may perhaps be willing to re-enlist in the artillery or cavalry, though not in the infantry: in such cases, it will be for the general good to permit them to join those corps immediately, if they have not more than a very short time to serve.

There are conventional signals established for alarming the country and calling in the militia in case of absolute need. The greatest care should be taken in making use of these, as many inconveniences and a considerable expense would be occasioned by a false or needless alarm. Be pleased to inquire of his Excellency Governor Clinton whether he thinks any alteration of the plan established last summer necessary.

Should any thing be wanting in the clothing line by the troops of Massachusetts, the sub-clothier of that State is to direct his application to the Clothier-General, who will be near the headquarters of the army.

You will improve every opportunity the weather and leisure affords to exercise the troops, agreeable to the Rules and Regulations established for that purpose, and

will pay the strictest attention to order, regularity, and discipline in every respect.

I have directed Colonel Hay to have all the boats not necessary for the service of the garrison and other purposes carefully collected and properly laid up. You will, however, be pleased to pay attention to the matter.

I shall write to the Paymaster-General and desire him to appoint a deputy to reside at this post for the convenience of paying the troops here and at Danbury. You will therefore sign warrants for their monthly pay, when properly authenticated by the deputy-paymaster, and presented to you.

The scarcity of forage points out the expediency of divesting this post and its dependencies of all horses and cattle not absolutely necessary, as soon as may be. Colonel Hay, who superintends the quartermaster's department, will order them to proper places.

I have only to add that you will use every possible precaution to obtain previous notice of any move of the enemy towards you. Should such an event take place, you will not fail to give me the speediest information.

Given at Headquarters, at West Point,
this 27th day of Nov., 1779.

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, West Point,
Nov. 29, 1779.

Dear Sir, — Enclosed, you will find a copy of General Du Portail's state of the troops necessary for the defence of this post. It may be very useful during your command. You will, however, be pleased to observe that the enemy were, when it was made, in possession of the posts at King's Ferry, which not being the case now, a less number of guards is necessary. Such as are superfluous will readily occur to you in looking over the State. There

are three, in particular, that strike me as totally useless, — the one at Robinson's Ferry, and the two following ones, each of fifty men. In this and other matters you will, though, do as your own judgment points out. I have the fullest confidence in it; and, with the sincerest wish for the perfect recovery of your health, I am, with the greatest esteem and regard,

Dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
Dec. 13, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your letter of the 7th instant, with copies of the papers to which you allude. As the appointment or promotion of officers does not in the least depend on me, I cannot undertake to give you directions in either of the cases in which you request it. However, since they are before me, I shall offer my sentiments with respect to them. As to the case of Majors Maxwell and Ballard, if the former was arranged to the Fifteenth Regiment (Colonel Bigelow's), and which his commission will show, the nominating the latter for that majority must evidently have proceeded from a mistake, and as his right to promotion was in consequence, it seems, of Major Peters's rise. This, upon your representation, will be easily rectified.

The case between Major Hull and Major Cogswell is of more delicacy and very important, and I am exceedingly concerned at the proceedings which have obtained with respect to it. They will, if adhered to, as it appears to me, lead to very extensive and interesting consequences, to unhinge an arrangement which has cost so much time and so much pains, and to the revival of a part of the various mischiefs and distractions which have so long torn the army to pieces, the disputes about rank. The set-

tling of these has been a work of near two years; and in no line were there more difficulties found, or more attention paid by the different boards in adjusting matters, than in this of Massachusetts. In the very last instance, this alone, as you well know, employed seven general officers eight or nine days, with the greatest assiduity; and the arrangement was confirmed by Congress, to whom it was submitted, and commissions issued accordingly. If the arrangement is not adhered to, and the principles of promotion recommended by the Resolution of the 24th of November, 1778, and enjoined by that of the 28th of June last, all the labor that has been bestowed will have been to no purpose, and we shall be all afloat in confusion again. The matter will not rest with the present case, but the present case will produce an infinity of claims, against the investigation of which, at least policy and the good of the service most strongly decide. And yet I don't see how they are to be refused, if the arrangement and principles of promotion are once departed from. From a long and happy experience of their disposition, as well as the expressions in their present correspondence with you, I am most fully convinced the General Assembly wish nothing more than to promote the order and tranquillity of the army; and that, if they could but have conceived of the consequences to which their decision will probably lead, they would have never adopted the proceedings in this case.

What I have said with respect to the proceedings in favor of Major Cogswell is founded more particularly on the inexpediency and impolicy of departing from the arrangement and the rules which have been established to govern promotions, and which, in my opinion, of themselves, independent of all other considerations, should prevail. But besides these, from some peculiar circumstances attending the case, I will consider the grounds which seem to have influenced the Honorable the Assem-

bly in their determination. These were, according to the President's second letter of the 26th ult.: Major Hull's not being on the list of the officers appointed by the State; Major Cogswell's being a captain before him in 1775, and his having been commissioned by the court as a major the 1st of January, 1777. With respect to the first, Major Hull was not appointed by the State to the majority in Colonel Jackson's regiment: he was appointed by me at the intercession of several officers in the State line, and not without authority. I, however, reflecting on the points which are considered as difficulties, cannot but regret the event, although he is an officer of great merit, and whose services have been honorable to himself and honorable and profitable to his country. In the first instance, in order to expedite the raising of a new army, which the exigency of our affairs pressingly required, to supply the place of the old, which was soon to dissolve, Congress left it to the governments of the several States, by their Resolution of the 16th of September, 1776, to appoint the officers and fill up vacancies; but this was not granted by them as a subsisting power, because on the 22d of November following they were pleased to resolve "to send me blank commissions, and to empower me to insert therein the names of such officers as I might think fit, not revoking the appointments which had been made by Commissioners from any of the States," and which they farther enlarged and extended "to the filling up of vacancies" by a subsequent Resolution of the 27th of December. It was under the authority of these acts, and at the request of several of the State officers, that I appointed Major Hull to Colonel Jackson's regiment; but not till after the gentleman (I believe a Mr. Swasey) who had been nominated by the State had resigned, or refused to accept the commission. I have been thus particular on this point, that you may see I did not exercise a power which I was not invested with. But the appointment would

never have proceeded merely from this power: there were solicitations for it as already mentioned, and I was then persuaded, as I still am, that a good officer would and ever will be an object of the State's regard. As to the second ground, Major Cogswell's being a captain before Major Hull in 1775, I must observe, at the period when the latter was promoted a major, there were no fixed and established rules of rising in the army. Our military arrangements had not provided for this with certainty, and the business was sometimes conducted on one ground, sometimes another, and not upon the principle of lineal succession as a fixed mode; and therefore Major Cogswell, then a captain, could not claim to be promoted of right to the majority in Colonel Jackson's regiment. If lineal succession or priority of commission is to be established now, as a principle of promotion existing at that time, certain and fixed, — and, if it is in one case, it will be difficult to refuse it in another, — the arrangement of the Massachusetts line may be subverted by similar claims and similar determinations. And with respect to the third reason, Major Cogswell's having received a commission as major, dated the 1st of January, 1777, there was certainly a mistake in carrying the date back to that period; for if I understand the matter right, — and I believe I do, — his promotion from a captain was in consequence of Major Vose and Lieutenant-Colonel Vose's, which took place on the appointment of the then Colonel Patterson, a brigadier. This did not happen until the 21st of February, and of course no commission that Major Cogswell received of a prior date to the last could be regular. The same mistake, if my recollection serves, happened in the case of Colonel Vose, whose commission was dated the 1st of January, 1777, though his rank as colonel originated in the appointment of General Patterson. This, of justice and necessity, was corrected, as has been the case in many other instances. But I need not

have mentioned any of these points to you, as you must remember them, from the share you had in the arrangement. In a word, policy at least required a strict adherence to the arrangement and the principles of promotion established; and there has been no injustice done Major Cogswell. Perhaps by your representation you may be able to get matters put right again; and I am sure you can scarcely render any more essential service than prevailing on the Honorable Assembly to preserve the arrangement inviolate, and to pursue the rules of promotion which have been established. There seems to be something peculiarly hard in the case of Major Hull. He might, as I have been long since told, have been arranged a lieutenant-colonel in the Connecticut line by the Committee of Congress at White Plains in 1778; but many of the Massachusetts officers discovered great uneasiness at the idea of his being taken from them; and he himself, hoping that all were content with his services and rank, generously refused the offer, and determined to remain where he was. But he has a better title than this. I only mention it as a trait of his character; nor do I mean, by any thing I have said with respect to him, to take in the least from the merits of Major Cogswell. It has not been the practice in any case that I know of for officers promoted by the States, since the arrangement, to act by warrants. Their promotions and appointments have been certified, I believe, by transmitting the warrants, or a list of them, to the Board of War for Commissions, by which alone they have acted. I could wish this mode might be generally pursued, as the Board, having the arrangement of the several lines before them, have it in their power to correct mistakes, or at least to represent them, which they have done in several instances already. If officers were once to act under warrants, it might be more difficult to remedy errors. And, besides, military propriety and the nature of the thing seem to determine that an officer of

the States can only act under their commission, and it has been understood that the warrants mentioned in the Act of the 8th of March were to be the basis on which the Board are to proceed in issuing commissions. Our commission system unfortunately is very complex; and unless the States will be accurate and adhere strictly to the principles of promotion, which is enjoined and explicitly required by the Act of the 28th of June last, we shall always be in troubled water, and the service embarrassed with unhappy feuds.

I return, agreeable to your request, the copy of Major Hull's memorial.

I cannot determine at present when the light infantry will rejoin their regiments. Circumstances may arise, such as a large detachment of the enemy being sent from New York, to admit of it, without any very probable injury. But, without this, it may be necessary to keep them embodied.

From the state of our arsenals, and the difficulty of obtaining supplies of arms and accoutrements, I am convinced your particular attention will be given to having those in the hands of men whose services expire retained and properly secured with the Commissary.

17th.

Your favor of the 14th came to hand last night; and I am happy to find you are relieved with respect to supplies of bread, and I hope they will continue. Our distresses here on the same account have been equal to those you have experienced. They still subsist; and, what is more alarming, the prospect of seasonable relief is at least very precarious. The condition of the Quartermaster's and other departments for want of money is fully before Congress; and they will, without doubt, do all in their power to keep matters in train. I am convinced you will meet with every support Governor Clinton can give, and I am persuaded Colonel Hay's exertions will not

be wanted in any instance. I am exceedingly pleased to hear the attempt to re-enlist the troops succeeds so well.

I am, dear sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
31st Dec., 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favors of the 21st and 26th inst. Certificates from the paymasters of the 1st and 15th Massachusetts Regiments, setting forth that Ensigns Gilbert and Porter have settled their regimental accounts, are necessary, before those gentlemen can obtain discharges. Upon producing them to you, you may indorse their discharges upon their commissions, and inform me of the date, that I may register them. The Adjutant-General transmits you a copy of a late general order, specifying the proper certificates to be produced hereafter, upon application for liberty to leave the service.

I shall write immediately to the Board of Treasury, and request them to order Mr. Read, the deputy-paymaster at Albany, to remove from thence to the Highlands, for the conveniency of the payment of the troops there. The military chest here is so nearly exhausted that it will not be worth while for the Massachusetts paymasters to come down; and you will be pleased to signify the same to General Poor, at Danbury, whose troops will also be paid from the chest at the Highlands.

I do not conceive myself at liberty to make any extra allowance of rations to Major Bauman, Congress having expressly limited any indulgence of that kind to a colonel when commanding a brigade.

If the clothing issued at West Point has been regularly disposed of, I have no more to say in the matter. I have

desired as much to be delivered to the infantry under Colonel Putnam as will make them comfortable; and I shall desire the Clothier-General, in making his distribution, to have a due regard to the troops on the east side of Hudson's River.

The officers who have lately received their commissions are to be made up in the muster-rolls, and to draw their pay from the times the vacancies, to which they are promoted, happened.

It is my wish to promote and forward the re-enlistment of the troops as much as possible, for which purpose I will, upon your sending down a proper person to receive the money, return you as much as can be spared, to be distributed among the commanding officers of regiments.

The fleet which has been so long in preparation sailed from New York the 26th. Their destination, or the number of troops on board, is not ascertained; but it is generally imagined they are bound to Georgia, and from what I can collect they have about five thousand men on board.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G.° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Morristown,
14th Jan., 1780.

Dear Sir, — I have been favored with your letters of the 27th and 30th of December last, and that of the 5th instant.

The measures you have taken to provide against a scarcity, with the assistance of the government, will, I hope, furnish you with a tolerable and constant supply. Our distresses have been so pressing as to compel me to call upon the several counties in this State for a certain quota of grain and cattle proportioned to their respective abili-

ties. Those counties I have heard from have with great readiness complied with the requisition, and I would flatter myself that with economy we shall be enabled to live till we can be furnished in the usual manner.

As to the issuing commissaries, neither their appointments nor salaries depend on me. Should they resign, you must take such steps as the case may require, till new appointments can be made by the proper authority. In the mean time, I shall inform Mr. Stewart of the matter, who is at the head of the department.

With regard to the application of the staff officers in the line for warrants, there have been none made out or issued to any in the army; and I would suppose a copy of such appointment in general orders, certified by the Adjutant-General, a sufficient testimony. However, should this be unsatisfactory, if you will transmit me the names, rank, and staff appointments, and the date and the regiments to which the officers belong, I will give them warrants.

I could wish that the State or sub-clothier had been present with the troops, as it is his duty. The absence of such officers multiplies the business of others, and often produces embarrassments that might have been avoided. It cannot be allowed. When the distribution of clothing was made at West Point, it was, as I informed you in a late letter, in a just proportion to the stock then on hand; and, that it might be equitably divided, those men who had the longest time to serve were directed to have a preference; and those only whose time of service would expire with the year 1779, and new levies who were not enlisted, were excluded. As the States were desired to make provision by their agents for their respective troops, it was hoped that the Continental stock and State purchases would complete a sufficient provision for all who were entitled to draw. Perhaps this might have been the case, had the State clothier, or some person for him, made

constant and regular returns of the wants of his line to the Clothier-General, who is empowered to call upon the agent. So long as this is neglected, the troops will unavoidably suffer; and this must for ever be the case, while there is no person to transact the business. The Clothier-General has been directed to leave a proportion of what he has received since the first distribution at New Windsor, for the use of the troops of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. I am informed that he has done this, and I make no doubt, but if regular application [be made], through the regular channel, the State clothier, he will order the deputy-clothier at Windsor to deliver a further supply. Perhaps, with every exertion, we shall not be able to give a full provision of clothing to all. You must endeavor to procure as much as will make those men who are entitled to it comfortable.

The Board of Treasury have ordered Mr. Read, the assistant paymaster, to come from Albany to your post. I am in hopes he will have arrived when this comes to hand, or that he will be down in a few days after. In this expectation I have desired Mr. Pierce, the Deputy-Paymaster-General, to forward two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to him, addressed to your care in the first instance, which you will draw out of his hands for paying the troops, and for the necessary and proper accounts, by your warrants. The supply of cash which has been received here will not admit more to be sent to Mr. Read.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your obedient and humble servant,

G.° Washington.

15th.

P. S. I have just received your letter of the 10th, and am happy to find that the fire was so easily and completely extinguished; and that you succeeded so well in suppressing so dangerous a meeting.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Morristown,
27th Jan., 1780.

Dear Sir, — I have received your several favors of the 17th, 18th, 21st, and 23d of this month.

As it will be less expensive to Major Painter and to the public to have his trial held in your quarter, you will be pleased to order a court-martial for the purpose. I return you Colonel Scammel's letter on the subject.

Bostwick's letter, which came in yours of the 18th, is very ambiguous. At first view, one would imagine the scribbling done without any design. The figures, some memorandum; and the paper had been picked up, and used by the writer without his knowing any thing of what was within. This, at least, is the charitable explanation; and is, perhaps, such a one as he would give, whether innocent or guilty. Your suggestion, however, may be well founded; and the writing, although unintelligible to us, may not be so to the enemy. But, as the paper does not afford sufficient proof of criminality, I would imagine the best thing we can do is to have a watchful eye over him (which may be accomplished through the means of Colonel Hay), and to wait for some further evidence before we either call upon him for an explanation of the writing, or proceed to any open steps in the matter. You will take such measures to this effect as may appear most proper. I transmit you Bostwick's letter.

Lieutenant Williams has received fifty thousand dollars for the purpose mentioned in your letter of the 21st. This sum (which is as much as can be spared at this time), with what Mr. Reed can save from paying off the troops, may answer the present exigency. Upon application for money to discharge the Continental bounty, you will direct a roll containing the names of the re-enlisted men, which is to be the foundation of your order or warrants.

I wish, as far as possible, to oblige you with the indulgence you have requested. We are by no means at this time complete in officers, which makes your stay the more necessary, were it compatible with your health. If, however, it is in such a state as you may judge a journey and relaxation from military duty essential to your recovery, you have my permission on General Howe's arrival, which I suppose will be near the time you have affixed. I make no doubt but you will proportion your absence as much as possible to the circumstances of the army, and continue it no longer than may be indispensable for your health.

With regard to Major Bowman's experiments in gunnery, I have no objection to their being made, provided you are satisfied with their usefulness, and if not attended with too great an expenditure of ammunition. Sir James Day has also requested leave to make some trials in gunnery, which you will be pleased to indulge, taking the necessary cautions to prevent the militia's being alarmed.

Mr. Reed, I expect, will be with you by the time this letter may come to hand. His instructions for his removal could hardly have more than reached him at the time of your writing.

I am, dear sir, your obedient and humble servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. Mr. Adams, a store-keeper of the hospitals at Albany, charged with peculating stores, will be sent down by Colonel Van Schaick, with witnesses, &c., for trial by a court-martial.

General Heath.

Headquarters, Morristown,
1st Feb., 1780.

Dear Sir, — I am exceedingly sorry to find by yours of the 26th ult. that you are again involved in difficulties

on the score of bread. I flattered myself that your wants on that account had been overcome, and that you would not have been again distressed throughout the winter. We are in a better situation than we were; but we may yet be said to be living from hand to mouth, never having more than two or three days' provision in store. Our dependence is upon the continuance of the frost, which is very favorable for transportation, though it stops the mills. Upon the receipt of your letter, I directed the Commissary to send over all the flour from Easton and Sussex County, which had been intended for this army, to the Highlands. If I am not misinformed by him, your present want of bread arises from want of water to grind the wheat, of which he says there is a quantity in the mills. If nothing better can be done, I would advise you to order down a parcel of that, and let it be delivered to the men, who, by beating and husking it, may boil it, and make a tolerable substitute for bread. If Indian corn can be obtained, it will answer better. We were, in our late distress, reduced to take the foregoing methods.

I am confident Governor Clinton will take every practicable measure to relieve you, and, should we obtain a more than expected supply of flour from the southward, part shall be sent forward; but really at present we can spare no more than what I have mentioned as ordered from Sussex and Easton. I wish you to use every exertion to keep the troops together, and in their present cantonments. If once suffered to disperse, a thousand ill consequences follow.

I observe, by the late general returns, a deficiency of some regiments in your command. I must beg you to call upon your deputy adjutant-general for a punctual compliance in this respect, which is always necessary, but more than commonly so in the fluctuating state of our army, which, from a variety of causes, differs materially every week. Without this, I am constantly at a loss for the real strength of your posts.

I hope your next will afford more pleasing prospects of your situation, which will be truly agreeable to,

Dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
2d Feb., 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Since mine of yesterday, I have been favored with yours of the 27th ult. I am happy to hear that the fire in the garrison has been suppressed with so little damage. The officers who lost their clothing may have the liberty of drawing what articles they may find suitable in the public store, at the prices fixed by Congress, which are one-half more than such articles sold for in the year 1775.

Until proper magazines can be constructed in the several works, you will be pleased to take any precautions which you may deem necessary against fire.

The certificates produced by Lieutenant Peabody being sufficient, you have liberty to grant him a discharge from the service. You will, by the next opportunity, inform me of the time when it took place, that I may register the resignation.

Captain Flowers and Lieutenant Snow are entitled to the amount of their expenses while on command at Springfield. Upon producing their accounts regularly made out, you are to grant them warrants on the deputy paymaster-general.

My letter of yesterday informed you fully and truly of the state of our magazines. Enclosed, you will find the ration which governs here at present, and by which you will be pleased to regulate yourself when circumstances will admit.

Enclosed, you have a copy of General Poor's instructions, by which you will perceive that he was directed to

cover the country eastward of Norwalk, and to take his orders generally from the officer commanding at the Highland posts. Under these, you are at liberty to make such dispositions as you may deem best calculated to answer the ends in view. But I cannot help thinking that the purchase is too low down to station a body of men with safety. One hundred men, moving occasionally down, and not at stated periods, could, in my opinion, have better effects than a standing guard.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

P. S. I am informed that the ice affords a passage from the City of New York to the Highlands. This may tempt the enemy to undertake something against you by surprise, by carrying up their men in sleighs, of which they have lately collected a large parcel. It may be this is to take the advantage of drawing in wood while the rivers are frozen; but we ought nevertheless to be upon our guard against every possible event. I would therefore recommend it to you to keep men in every work where there is cover, and to direct the officer commanding in them to bar their gates carefully every night, and to take every precaution against a surprise, which is the only mode in which the enemy can operate at this season.

Headquarters, Morristown,
Feb. 15, 1780.

Dear Sir, — Congress have been pleased to determine by an Act of the 9th instant, a copy of which I received last night, the quota of troops to be furnished by each of the States for the ensuing campaign, and have directed me to transmit them respectively accurate returns of their non-commissioned officers and privates, that they may know the deficiency for which they are to provide.

I therefore request that you will send me, as soon as possible, a return of the number of non-commissioned officers and privates of the fifteen Massachusetts regiments; distinguishing, particularly, what proportion of them are enlisted for the war, and the different terms of service of the residue, digested in monthly column. I obtained a pretty exact state of all the troops from the Muster-master-general in November, which I transmitted to Congress, the better to govern them in their measures and requisitions; but, as those have been so long deferred, there may have been many material alterations with respect to the troops. To the non-commissioned officers and privates in the respective State lines I am to add those in the regiments and corps, which were not originally apportioned on any particular States, by the Resolution of Congress of the 16th of September, 1776, as part of the quota of the States from which they come, and the number between the aggregate amount and the quota fixed at present by Congress is the only deficiency for which the States are to provide. You will, I am convinced, feel the necessity of the earliest attention to this business, and will not delay sending me such a return as I have requested a moment longer than circumstances may make it indispensably necessary.

I am, dear sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
28th March, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I received your letter of the 2d, informing me of your arrival at Roxbury.

It is very essential that every thing in our power, not inconsistent with the establishments of Congress or the States, should be done that can in any ways facilitate the

recruiting service. I am of your opinion, that, if clothing could be procured on the spot for such of the State quota as enlist, it would be a circumstance very much in favor of the business. But I would not wish to give any directions on this subject, as I presume every thing proper on the occasion will be done by the State in consequence of the requisition of Congress.

I have been induced to direct the Clothier-General to make out an order on Otis & Hanley, in favor of Colonel Crane, for clothing for such soldiers as he may enlist. But this cannot be extended further, and was only taken up because the artillery are dependent solely on the Continent for their supplies.

I am, dear sir, your obedient and humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
April 17, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I received, some days ago, your letter of the 27th of last month. I have communicated your request, with respect to recruiting officers, to Major-General Howe, and desired him to send on a number, if the state of the regiments would admit of it, informing them, however, previously, to prevent a misapprehension on the subject and that they might use their own discretion upon the occasion, that I knew of no Continental bounty or allowance to reimburse their expenses or to compensate for their trouble. How many or whether any would go for the State encouragement, is a point about which I have not heard. Your plan for sending the recruits on seems to be a very good one. I would observe, with respect to the recruits, that it would be best, if it could be done, to enlist them generally for the line, and not for particular regiments, as they might then, with more facility, be disposed of among the regiments so as to make

them all of equal strength, — a matter essential to uniformity and arrangement, — and which ought always to be attended to. I am sorry there should be the obstacles there are to enlisting men, as it is certainly very interesting to us to have the army upon a more respectable footing than it is at present; but such is the state of our treasury and of our clothing supplies that it is not in my power to do any thing to promote it at this time. With respect to the money in Mr. Hancock's hands, I do not like to give any orders about it, as I do not know at present, to my own satisfaction, whether there is any pecuniary Continental bounty, or, if there is, the particular cases in which it is allowed. The late Resolution of Congress on the 9th of February, by which the States are called on to make up their deficiencies of men, is totally silent on the subject; and it seems that the Act which preceded it in March, 1779, and which was the last on the occasion, was only of a temporary nature, and ceased when that of the 9th of February took place. At any rate, if it could be supposed to exist, the bounty of two hundred dollars which it mentions was not exclusive of the State bounties; but, where these exceeded that sum, the State, in adjusting their recruiting accounts with the public, was to receive a credit for so much from the Continent. But as the requisition of Congress to the States only respects their providing for the deficiencies in their infantry regiments, — and there is a necessity for recruiting those of the artillery, — I have, notwithstanding the uncertainty I am under with respect to the bounty, advanced two hundred dollars for each man enlisting in them for the war, where they receive no bounty from the State. If, therefore, the men engaged by Colonel Crane enlist for a *Continental bounty only*, you may, on his making out a return of them by name, give him a warrant on the back or annexed to it, on Mr. Hancock, for two hundred dollars for each.

I am happy to hear of the captures you mention. They are very valuable, and I wish the cargoes in both instances were with the army. I have just been informed that a privateer from Philadelphia had sent a Jamaica man into the Delaware with about four hundred and fifty puncheons of rum.

The latest advices I have received from Charlestown are of the 14th ult. From appearances there, it seemed to be the enemy's intention to besiege it in regular form. Their ships had not passed the bar at that time, nor attempted it, though from the measures they were pursuing it appeared to be their design.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, SPRINGFIELD, NEW JERSEY,
20th June, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favor of the 8th, from Roxbury. This, I imagine, will meet you at Providence. I have directed General Glover to repair immediately to Springfield for the purpose of receiving and forwarding the drafts, and I shall be obliged by your taking measures to inform all the officers who were upon the recruiting service in Massachusetts that they are also to repair as expeditiously as possible to Springfield, and take their orders from General Glover. Sir Henry Clinton has returned with part of his force from the southward, what number I cannot yet ascertain. A little time must develop the true meaning of their taking post at Elizabethtown. I very much suspect their intention is to amuse us here, and make an attempt upon the Highlands, towards which we cannot conveniently move at this instant without exposing a large quantity of provision upon the com-

munication — our baggage and stores which are all removing as fast as possible.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, BERGEN COUNTY,
5th July, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I have been favored with yours of the 20th and 30th ult. The ammunition, the cannon belonging to the Continent, and the other stores, had been ordered to Springfield; and part had been removed, at very considerable expense, on account of transportation. On the prospect of a safe navigation of the Sound, I directed Major Perkins to withhold the removal of the remainder, but to deposit them in places of safety. If you do not like their present position, you will be pleased to make a change, and order a small guard from Greene's regiment to secure them.

The Resolution of Congress, to which you refer, seems clear and explicit. I am told it was passed to prevent persons who had been in office from drawing subsistence after they were out of service, many having continued to do so for a long time, under pretence that their accounts with the public were unsettled, or upon some such pleas.

General Glover has returned to Springfield, to receive and forward the Massachusetts levies.

I, some time ago, directed Colonel Greene to have all the public boats collected and repaired. You will be pleased to inquire whether it has been done. They should be drawn up the river to a place of perfect security, to prevent any attempt upon them. There had been a quantity of platform plank and other materials provided by General Gates last year. You will be pleased, also, to

make inquiry after them, and, if they are to be found, have them collected, and held ready for removal.

I hope, from the accounts brought by the vessel from France to Boston, that we shall soon have the pleasure of seeing the Chevalier de Ternay.

I am, with great esteem, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

6th.

P. S. I have just received yours of the 2d, and am much obliged by the intelligence which you communicate.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, 15th July, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I received yesterday your two favors of the 11th instant; the latter announcing the appearance of the French fleet off Newport harbor. We wait anxiously for further particulars, which we expect to-day.

Mr. Corny mentions the bad state of the road of communication between Providence and Newport. It appears essential, as the intercourse may be great on this route, to have it attended to. I would wish you, therefore, to take the most effectual and immediate measures for its repair. You will be pleased to forward Colonel Greene's regiment to the army as soon as possible, agreeably to my letter of the 29th of June.

I am, dear sir, your obedient and humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, ORANGETOWN,
21st Aug., 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 17th reached me last evening. I have received intelligence that Sir Henry Clinton went himself towards the east end of Long Island

on the 16th, and that the troops at Whitestone were again embarking. I have an account of Sir Henry's movement through two different channels, that of the embarkation only through one. I can hardly suppose that he will, considering the present position of this army, venture to carry a force from New York sufficient to make an attempt upon Rhode Island; but, that you may have the earliest intelligence of any movements, I have desired General Arnold and Major Tallmadge to transmit immediately to you any well-grounded information they may receive. This you will of course communicate to the General and Admiral of France.

They are apprehensive in New York of an embarkation of troops for the West Indies; but I have nothing from thence which satisfies me of the truth of the report.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

P. S. I have just heard that General Clinton was certainly in New York the day before yesterday.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, BERGEN COUNTY,
2d Sept., 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favors of the 25th and 28th ult. The State of Rhode Island were called upon for a considerable monthly supply of forage; and, as they acceded to the requisition, I should have hoped you would have obtained a sufficiency for the small Continental force under your command, without any difficulty. An application to the State, founded on the above, is the best measure I can recommend, as I have it not in my power to furnish the proper department with the means of purchasing. Fuel was no part of the requisition from the States, and the Quartermaster must therefore endeavor

to get credit for the wood standing. If he can effect that, the cutting and transportation may be done by the troops with the public boats.

We have nothing new of any importance. A considerable number of vessels have been falling down to the Hook these two days past. They are said to be transports returning to Europe with the invalids of the army.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, BERGEN COUNTY,
8th Sept., 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favors of the 31st ult. and 3d instant. I should have been very glad, had the situation of the works, which Count de Rochambeau is constructing for the defence of the island, admitted of the immediate dismission of the three months Massachusetts militia; but as it does not, and the Count seems very desirous of completing them, we cannot but consent to their staying out their term of service, should it be necessary.

I make no doubt but the State will do every thing possible to accommodate the French troops, should circumstances require them to take up their winter quarters in Rhode Island.

We have received accounts of a very disagreeable nature from the southward. General Gates does not enter into particulars, but only mentions that the army under his command had been totally defeated on the 16th August, near Camden, in South Carolina. It is much to be feared that the whole of the Maryland line have either fallen or been taken, as the militia broke upon the first onset, and left them exposed to a very superior force.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Bergen County,
10th Sept., 1780.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of the 6th, with the intelligence to which it refers. Should any part of the fleet mentioned by Captain Jotham be destined for the Continent, we must soon hear of them.

Lest my letter of the 28th ult., in answer to yours of the 22d, should have miscarried, I enclose you a copy. You will find in it an answer to all your questions, except that which respects the arms for Colonel Greene's regiment. I would not wish the new ones brought by the "Alliance" to be broken in upon, as they are completely made up for transportation; and, since the great loss of arms in the unfortunate stroke upon General Gates's army, it is more than probable we shall be under the necessity of sending a further parcel to that quarter.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G.° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Prackness,
Oct. 18, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I am glad to find by your letter of the 17th that you were arrived at West Point, and had taken the command of that important post. I approve of the measures you were taking to succor the northern frontiers. Both the regiments you are sending will remain till the danger is entirely past. You will order Weisenfelts to garrison Fort Schuyler.

With the greatest regard, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G.° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Prackness,
Oct. 21, 1780.

Dear Sir, — Lieutenant-Colonel Varick and Major Franks, late of General Arnold's family, having requested of me a court of inquiry to ascertain the part they acted relative to the transactions of General Arnold, you will be pleased to appoint a court of inquiry to examine into the conduct of the gentlemen in their connection with the late Major-General Arnold, during his command at West Point, and relative to the circumstances of his desertion to the enemy.

I have directed General Knox to apply to you for permission for Mr. Garanger to make some experiments in artillery, which you will please to grant.

I am, with very great esteem and regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

G° Washington.

Headquarters, Prekaness,
21st Oct., 1780.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of the 20th. The disposition you have made of the troops at and near West Point is agreeable to me.

The two small regiments at present at King's Ferry were purposely stationed there, because they could not be brigaded with convenience. They are shortly to be reformed and incorporated, and had therefore best remain where they are until that time.

General Greene had proposed to remove every superfluous store from those posts, so that, in case of necessity, they might be evacuated with little loss. He was of opinion that the enemy would, if they came up seriously, run an armed vessel or two above them, and render the removal of the stores by water impracticable. This seemed so probable a conjecture that I desired him to strip them

of all but very few stores. You will be pleased to follow that method.

The Minister of France may soon be expected from the eastward. Should he take you in his way, or should you hear certainly of his approach, be pleased to give me notice of it by express.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

To General Heath.

Headquarters, Prekaness,
24th Oct., 1780.

Dear Sir, — In one of my former, I barely acknowledged the receipt of your favor of the 19th. Business prevented my going fully into it. I wish it was in my power to give a satisfactory answer to the representation made by Doctor McKnight in behalf of the gentlemen of the hospital, on the subject of clothing. They are not the only sufferers. There are a great number of the officers of the line who have never derived any benefit from particular States or from the public. I have repeatedly remonstrated upon the hardship of their situations, but I have heard of no competent provision being made. If there are any small matters in the store at Newburgh, proper for officers, I have no objection to their being delivered out, in due proportions, to those who have derived no State benefits, and do not expect any this winter. The officers of Lamb's artillery, and Hazen's, Livingston's, and Spencer's regiments, will draw a few yards of cloth and three or four shirts each from hence, for which an allowance must be made, should there be any goods at Newburgh.

I must refer Colonel Campbell's application to Congress. There is a Resolve passed in June last, which seems to preclude those who are not in actual service from drawing rations, but directs the value to be paid in money.

If the officers of Colonel Sheldon's regiment are of opinion that the execution of one of the dragoons has been a sufficient example, I have no objection to granting a pardon to the other.

I find, among Arnold's papers, the proceedings of two courts-martial against Loveberry, Ackerly, and Weeks, all capitally convicted for coming out as spies. Be pleased to say whether the person detained in the provost is either of the foregoing.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, near Passaic,
Oct. 28, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I have been favored with your letter of the 24th inst., and thank you for the representation you make of the ammunition and ordnance stores at Providence. I will give directions to Colonel Greene for their further security.

While I feel the full force of all your observations respecting the necessity of having permanent supplies laid in for the posts in the Highlands, I have to lament the inefficacy of our past measures and the disagreeable prospects before us. Colonel Blane can give you more particular information, as it is the business of the Commissary-General to point out the places of deposit to the State agents, and to make all the arrangements in the department, but not having the power or the means to make any purchases himself. The supplies must be very inadequate and precarious, unless the States will furnish the quotas they are called upon for with more punctuality and despatch than has hitherto been the case.

The plan you suggest of having the salted provisions put up as near the post as possible would certainly be eligible, but at present seems impracticable, while the

army is barely subsisted from day to day. I cannot but hope, however, that the Legislatures (most of which are now sitting) will take immediate and effectual means to have the necessary magazines laid in for the winter.

I have appointed Brigadier-General Clinton to take the command at Albany, who will proceed thither accordingly.

I am, dear sir, with great esteem and regard,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

Gº. WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEAR PASSAIC FALLS,
Oct. 31, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your letter of the 24th instant. As the characters and circumstances of the prisoners at West Point are much better known to you on the spot than they can possibly be to me, I have only to request that you will use your discretion with respect to them. The proceedings of the court on Burtiss have never been in my hands.

There is, I am informed by General Irvine, a chest belonging to Colonel Kosciuszko, containing principally papers of a public nature, which General Greene had determined to have removed from Mrs. Warren's to a place of more security, but in the hurry of business might have omitted. If the chest still remains at West Point, you will be pleased to take it into your charge, or have it removed to a place of safety, as the drafts and papers are of consequence to the public.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most humble servant,

Gº. WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Prackness,
Nov. 5, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I have been favored successively with your letters of the 30th and 31st ult., and the 1st and 2d inst. Enclosed, you will receive a warrant for the money due on your account.

In respect to the removal of the chain, I am of opinion it ought neither to be taken up too soon nor suffered to remain too late. I could wish you to have every thing in readiness by the time you mention, and shall speak to Colonel Tupper on the subject.

Previous to yours of the 1st inst., I had requested you to use your discretion in the execution of such of the prisoners under sentence of death as you considered proper objects for capital punishment.

I have written to his Excellency Governor Clinton, on the subjects of your letter of the 2d.

I am, with great esteem, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G.o Washington.

P. S. Since writing the foregoing, your favor of the 3d has come to hand. Necessity must justify your breaking in upon the reserved flour. One hundred barrels will go from hence or Morristown in the morning, and you shall constantly have a part of what little we get. I would have you by all means press the eastern States to send forward their supplies. It is the States we must apply to, and not the commissioners, who are, upon the present establishment, merely receivers of stores. I have myself written to Governor Clinton.

I will consider and give an answer upon Spencer's case. In the mean time have him well secured.

G.o Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Prackness,
Nov. 6, 1780.

Dear Sir, — By advices just received from Governor Clinton and General Schuyler, it appears that the enemy are in very considerable force upon the Lake, and seem to threaten the destruction of the northern frontier. You will therefore be pleased immediately to detach the remainder of the New York brigade, or as great a part as you can conveniently spare, to Albany, with direction to the eldest officer to take his orders there from Brigadier-General Clinton.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. Should you receive any certain intelligence from the Governor, General Clinton, or General Schuyler, that the enemy have gone off, you need not send up the troops. Gº. W–n.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Passaic Falls,
9th Nov., 1780.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favors of the 4th and 7th. Upon hearing of the destruction committed upon the western frontier, and that we should thereby be deprived of the magazine of bread which we expected from that quarter, I immediately wrote to Congress and pointed out to them the absolute necessity of having a supply of flour equal to the winter consumption of the garrison of West Point, and its dependencies, brought forward from the southward before the roads are broken up. The assistant commissary is gone down to represent the situation of matters also, and to hurry on what may be collected.

I do not know what prospects there are of money, but

I fear none very good. Upon a collective view of all the clothing between Boston and Philadelphia, there is not more than a sufficiency for half the number of men we shall have left in service after the month of December. The most parsimonious distribution will be therefore necessary, and I would not wish *that* to commence (except for shoes or such small articles as the men cannot dispense with) until the army gets together in winter quarters.

Recruits for the war who have not received any clothing may be supplied for the present with such articles as will make them comfortable. If their own State clothiers have them, they had better furnish the supply; if not, they may be drawn from the public store.

I am, dear sir, with the greatest esteem,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Gº. Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Passaic Falls,
12th Nov., 1780.

Dear Sir, — Upon a full view of what (from the returns) must be the state of our army when the levies leave it the first of January, and of the little prospect there is of getting the places of many, if any of them, supplied by that time; and when the importance of West Point and the southern communication with it is taken into consideration, I can think of no better disposition of the army for winter quarters than the following: —

Pennsylvania line. — Somewhere in the neighborhood of Morristown.

Jersey line. — About Pompton, in the clove of the mountain, with a detachment from it at the other clove, near Sufferans.

York line. — The troops of that State being chiefly

there already, and the northern and western frontier much harassed, to continue at Albany.

Connecticut and Massachusetts lines. — (Being about adequate to the number required) to be at West Point, the former on the east, and the [latter] on the west side of the river.

New Hampshire and Rhode Island. — At the gorge of the mountain, near the Continental village; and to furnish a detachment more to the left, say about Robinson's Mills.

Sheldon's horse. — On Connecticut River, at Colchester or Middletown.

Moylan's horse. — In Pennsylvania, perhaps Reading.

The Maréchaussée.* — (If it is not reduced), to be somewhere in the rear of New Windsor; and

The Park of Artillery. — At or near New Windsor.

This disposition is not yet announced to the army, nor is it known to the general officers of it (otherwise than by conjecture); for which reason, and because it may undergo a change, I would not as yet have any thing said of it.

If it takes place, my own quarters will, more than probably, be at or near New Windsor, as the central point.

Building barracks, huts, &c., near the works for the troops destined for the defence of the post, should undergo no interruption on account of the change this distribution may occasion. How far the huts at Soldiers' Fortune or General Glover's encampment may be necessary, I cannot undertake to determine, because I do not know precisely the relative situation of these places to the works.

Your favor of the 10th is received. I approve much of your intended forage, in which include cattle, &c.; but, for particular reasons, I wish the execution of it to be delayed a *little*, if there is no inconvenience resulting

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* See Sparks's Life of Washington, VI. 462. — Eds.

from it. In the mean while, make every necessary arrangement for it in your own mind, that the business may be suddenly entered upon when you hear from me again on the subject.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, PASSAIC FALLS,
13th Nov., 1780.

DEAR SIR, — The enclosed, from the Marquis de la Fayette, announces the expected arrival of several French officers of distinction, upon a visit to the army. Should they pass the posts under your command, I am convinced you will pay them every attention and honor due to their rank. As I should wish to have notice of their approach to this camp, you will oblige me by despatching an express as soon as they arrive with you, with an account of the route which they mean to take.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, PASSAIC FALLS,
16th Nov., 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favors of the 12th and 13th. The proceedings of the court of inquiry on Colonel Varick accompanied the former.

I cannot conceive that the Jersey line has received the number of recruits which the clothing return specifies, since those which were enlisted last winter, and they, I presume, must have obtained their proportion of clothing with the other men. You will inquire more particularly into the matter; and, if you find it right, you will direct the quantity absolutely necessary to be delivered. I suppose, by the appearance of the return, that it includes two

shirts and two pair of stockings for each. Let those entitled have one of each at present, and they will have a further allowance when the general distribution is made. We have no clothing of any kind here. They must therefore take such as is at New Burgh.

I am in hopes that the enemy do not mean to advance upon the northern frontier, by their halting so long near the lake.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, West Point.

HEADQUARTERS, PASSAIC FALLS,

(Private.) 16th Nov., 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Your forage will be made to subserve a project I have in view, the success of which depending upon a concurrence of things, and upon causes that are unalterable, I have to request that matters may be so ordered by you as that the detachment employed on this occasion may be at the White Plains, or as low down as you mean they should go, by two o'clock on Thursday, the 23d inst. They will remain there that night upon their arms; and, as it is not unlikely but that the enemy (if they are in force at Kings-bridge) may attempt to surprise them, a vigilant lookout is to be kept, and small parties of horse and foot employed in patrolling the different roads leading from the enemy's lines.

It is my earnest wish that you make your foraging party as strong, and have it as well officered as possible. I am of opinion that you may trust the several works (as it will be for a few days *only*, and this body advanced of them) to the invalids and such troops as are rendered unfit for the field on account of clothing. The guard-boats should, upon this occasion, be uncommonly alert: they should proceed as low down as they can with safety, and

so dispose of themselves as, by signals, to communicate the quickest intelligence of any movements on the river. A chain of expresses may also be fixed between the foragers and your quarters, for the purpose of speedy information of any extra event or occurrence below.

It is unnecessary to be more explicit. Your own judgment and conviction of the precision with which this business, especially in point of time, should be executed, will supply any omission of mine. This, that is, the time of being at the White Plains in force, under the *appearance* of a large forage, if you cannot make it *real*, is the first object to be attended to. I dare not commit my project to writing for fear of a miscarriage of my letter; but it is more than probable that, between this and the day appointed for the execution, I shall send an officer to you with a detail account of it.

So soon as this comes to hand, I beg of you to send by water five boats of the largest size that can be conveniently transported on carriages to the slote above Dobbs's Ferry, where I will have them met by carriages. Let there be five good watermen, with their arms and accoutrements, — from the Jersey line, if they have them, — allotted to each boat, under the command of an active, intelligent subaltern (of the same line), who is also to be a good waterman. If there should be any armed vessels of the enemy in the river above Dobbs's Ferry, let me know it, that I may order the carriages to King's Ferry. The officer and men are to attend the boats by land as well as water.

Sending the invalids and bad clothed men of Pennsylvania, to Morristown, those of Massachusetts and Connecticut to West Point, and the artillerists to New Windsor, strongly marked the cantonments of the army; and this will be manifested more clearly when Major Gibbs fixes upon my quarters, for which purpose he is now gone up to New Windsor. The detachment from

Massachusetts and Connecticut lines, *now* on their march to West Point, including ten hearty and well-clothed men from each of their regiments, amounts to fourteen hundred men, which will enable you to enlarge your foraging party very considerably.

The enclosed, for Colonel Gouvion, requires his attendance at Headquarters.

With much esteem and regard, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. The boats should be of the strongest and best-built kind.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, PASSAIC FALLS,
17th Nov., 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favors of the 15th and 16th instants. When the 1st and 5th New York regiments were ordered up to Albany, I directed General Clinton, if he should receive advice that the enemy had retired, to send them down again. Under this order he accordingly directed their return. I had not then fixed in my mind the line of cantonment of which I afterwards informed you. Upon the whole, it seems lucky that they did return, as by the copy of General Clinton's letter to you there were no means of subsisting them at Albany. You will direct them to be disembarked and disposed of for the present in such a manner as will best answer the general plan of cantonment mentioned in my private letter of the [16th,] and for the purpose of making an addition to the strength of your foraging party.

Captain Hughes has obtained a furlough upon the recommendation of Major Torrey, the commanding officer of the regiment; and Lieutenant Lewis has obtained his discharge upon producing vouchers signed by Major Torrey,

Captain White, the paymaster of the regiment, and the auditors, that he had settled all his public and regimental accounts. They have both gone from camp to their respective places of abode.

I fancy the account of Colonel Gansevoort's regiment coming down is premature. I desired General Schuyler to keep it at Saratoga till further orders from me.

Major Ballard, of Massachusetts, who went up with the invalids of the line, will apply for leave to go to Poughkeepsie on business with the Governor. You will be pleased to grant it.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, PASSAIC FALLS,
26th Nov., 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favors of the 18th and 21st. When the army gets together and settled in winter quarters, I intend to make some general regulations respecting the troops receiving flour or bread. In the mean time, they may continue to draw in the manner that they have been accustomed to do.

You will be pleased to order the New York line to the same position which that of New Hampshire has taken, where they are to hut adjoining to them, one of the regiments moving more to the left, so as to occupy the ground near Robinson's Mills, which will serve to cover the other pass of the mountain.

Hazen's regiment is to move to Fishkill, where it will lay this winter, and do the duties at that post.

The Massachusetts and Connecticut lines will march the moment the weather will permit; and, as the Jersey line is to take post this winter in the neighborhood of Pompton, you will put them under marching orders, that they may be ready to come down to King's Ferry upon the day

which the Massachusetts troops will arrive there, and take advantage of their returning waggons to transport their baggage. You shall be informed on what day that will be.

I am, with great esteem, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, PASSAIC FALLS,
27th Nov., 1780.

DEAR SIR, — The Connecticut and Massachusetts troops will march from hence to-morrow, and reach King's Ferry on Wednesday, at which time the Jersey troops will meet them there, and make use of their waggons as far as Pompton, where they will halt. The commanding officer will receive particular directions there respecting the position which he is to take.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

MORRISTOWN, 28th Nov., 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I gave directions to Generals Glover, Patterson, and Huntington to discharge the levies of Connecticut and Massachusetts, by degrees, upon their arrival at their places of cantonment, beginning with those first who were worst clad and otherwise unfit for service, as this would diminish our numbers insensibly, and not give the enemy an opportunity of knowing the truth before the time which they naturally count upon. You will be pleased to direct the same to be done with those of New Hampshire, and consult with General Knox upon the propriety of dismissing those attached to the artillery also; for I find we shall have occasion to divest ourselves of

every mouth that we can possibly do without, and have difficulty enough to subsist afterwards.

To give more perfect security to the northern and western frontier, and to keep the York line as much as possible together, that they may have the better opportunity of completing their new arrangement, I have determined to send the remainder of the York brigade to Albany, to be stationed there and at Schenectady, and elsewhere, as General Clinton shall direct. You will therefore put them in motion, by water, if the weather will permit, and give General Clinton notice of their coming, that he may endeavor to make preparation and provision for them. You will let the commanding officers know my motives, and at the same time inform them that their being brought down from Albany, a little time ago, was owing to the sudden contradiction of the false alarm, which did not give me time to send orders for their stay, as I then intended.

The regimental clothiers of each had best remain below, to receive their respective proportions, which I will have delivered upon my arrival at New Windsor. I expect that will be in three or four days, or perhaps a little longer, as I have some arrangements to make here.

You will divest yourself as speedily as possible of all the superfluous horses of the Connecticut and Massachusetts lines, as I imagine you have long since done of those of the others.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G^{o} Washington.

To Major-General Heath, West Point.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
10th Dec., 1780.

Dear Sir, — I am favored with yours of the 9th. From the representation made by General Clinton and Colonel Hay of the supply of meat in the northern department, I do not think there will be any need of sending the one hundred barrels of salt beef to Albany. You will endeavor to have it distributed in the different works.

Under present circumstances, we should rather increase than diminish the discharge of the levies; and such of the three years' men whose times are nearly out, and who are unfit for duty for want of clothes, had better be discharged than new clothed out of your slender stock.

If our magazine of provision was ample, it would make no great odds whether the officers drew their extra rations upon the issuing days, or once or twice a month. But, by letting them lay, they may perhaps demand their due bills at times when we are particularly distressed. I therefore think they had best draw regularly, or not let them lay more than a week behindhand.

I have no objection to the State clothier's delivering out to the troops what articles they have upon hand, under this strict injunction, that they immediately after the issue make returns to the Clothier-General of the quantity delivered. If they do not do this, they will not be allowed to draw any thing from the public store when the general issue is made.

I gave you my sentiments the day before yesterday upon the manner of Colonel Hazen's arresting Major Reid. He ought, I think, either to go into the trial immediately, or withdraw the arrest until he can come to a certainty of the time when his proofs will be ready. He may otherwise keep him the whole winter in confinement.

At this season, beef sufficient for a week may be safely

killed and carried on to the Point. I do not think the river will ever remain in an impassable state more than that time. As to flour, we can only hope for a better supply.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
Dec. 16, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — In answer to your favor of yesterday, I have to observe that it appears to me there can be no propriety in arresting an officer, in ordinary cases, a long time before he can be brought to trial; and that in the instance of Major Reid, upon his being brought before the court, they would be the proper judges whether the proceedings should be postponed, till further evidence was obtained. In the mean time, I see no reason why he should be detained in more rigid confinement than is commonly practised in cases of arrests.

With respect to Joshua Ferris, notwithstanding there is no doubt of the justice of the former sentence against him, it may possibly be best to suspend the matter, to inquire further into his character, and let the sentence still hang over him.

I have taken measures to know what boards can be spared by the Quartermaster-General for the purposes you mention.

If any deserters should come from the enemy, you will be pleased to order them to be sent to Headquarters.

I am, dear sir, with very great regard,

Your most obedient humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath, West Point.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
Dec. 19, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I am favored with yours of the 17th and 18th inst.

I am not sufficiently informed of the mode of transferring to the corps of invalids to give a definitive answer; but, as Mr. Frye is represented as a good officer, I have no objection to his having leave of absence for the recovery of his health.

If the levies who remain are well clothed and capable of duty, it may be well to retain them while the river continues open and their services useful; otherwise, to discharge them in the same manner as heretofore.

When the officer with the boats arrives at Murderer's Creek, he may report to the Quartermaster-General, who will give directions for their being laid up.

I think it reasonable that the two recovered prisoners you mention should be exchanged for those proposed, which may accordingly be done.

The Quartermaster-General will send some boards immediately to finish the place for the reception of the meat, which is to be salted in bulk; and I have to request that very particular attention may be paid to the matter, lest the meat should be damaged or totally spoiled by the uncommon warmth of the season.

I should also be obliged to you, if you will procure from Major Darby, or some other person acquainted with the construction of boats, a written *description* of such flat-bottomed boats as are most convenient to be transported on carriages. It should be so intelligible as to be perfectly understood by boat-builders, as it is designed for a model to construct a number upon in Virginia, and will be forwarded to Governor Jefferson, at his particular request. In the construction, two things are to govern, — conven-

ience of the men, and the transportation of the boats on wheels. Major Darby (under whose care the boats were at Passaic) had an opportunity to form his judgment on both these points, and recommended a particular kind.

I am, dear sir, with very great regard,

Your most obedient humble servant,

G.º Washington

To Major-General Heath, West Point.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
Dec. 20, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I am extremely unhappy that our want of magazines and precarious mode of supply subject us to such repeated inconveniences and distresses, but hope the flour from Ringwood or Redhook will arrive soon, to give at least a temporary relief.

By the general return of the issues, I observe the number of rations to be much greater than I apprehended, and that they do not diminish in the proportion I expected, from discharging the levies. I wish you, therefore, to have a critical examination made into the matter, that from a comparative view of the number of men and rations, should there be any abuses, they might be corrected.

The step you have taken, upon hearing that Delancey was collecting his corps, was certainly very proper. I have also received a letter from Governor Trumbull, advising that he is informed the enemy are meditating a blow against Connecticut, and requesting, in that case, such aid as we are able to afford, which renders it still more necessary that the troops you have put under marching orders should be held in constant readiness, and that the officers on the lines should be directed to use the greatest vigilance, and communicate the earliest intelligence to you.

You will please to give directions for Colonel Spencer's

and Colonel James Livingston's regiments to apply for their proportion of clothing.

There is a quantity of blue strouds in the store, which might be made into coats, if the trimmings could be obtained. Should the State clothiers of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, or Connecticut be able to furnish the necessary materials, the cloth may be issued.

I am, dear sir, with very great regard,

Your most obedient humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

NEW WINDSOR, 23d Dec., 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Some days ago, General McDougall informed me that a Major Hayes (I think that was the name), or Hughes, had suggested to him that the inhabitants of West Chester County could, without inconvenience to themselves, spare at least ten thousand bushels of Indian corn and five hundred tons of hay; and that a number of Pettiauguas sent to the nearest good landings to the foragers (but not too low for fear of losing them) would aid the waggons, and get it off with much ease.

This measure, though desirable at all times, and particularly so in our circumstances, I postponed, because I thought it would interfere too much with the building of huts, and injure the men on that account; but if it was possible for you now, or before the river closes (thereby preventing the aid of the water craft), to avail the garrison of this resource, it ought by no means to be neglected, as it may have a double operation, — serving us and injuring the enemy. General McDougall added, if I recollect right, that the people would receive certificates; but their not doing it should be no bar to our obtaining what they can spare.

He mentioned Colonel Hull as a fit officer to command, or at least to be with the foraging party, from his perfect

knowledge of the country and people. Hayes, or Hughes, might also be useful in the execution of such a project; and, if I remember right, he told me he now was, or had been, in the Quartermaster's department; but more particular information may be had of this person from General McDougall.

Having received information that a good road might be opened to the garrison on the west side of the river, and knowing the indispensable necessity of it in case of frost, I have employed Captain Machin to mark it out, and when done you will please to order a party to work on it, as it may become essential (as there is no magazine at West Point) to the existence of the garrison when the river closes.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
25th Dec., 1780.

DEAR SIR, — The time of the reform of Livingston's and Spencer's regiments is so near at hand that you will be pleased immediately to relieve the posts at King's Ferry, which they at present occupy, with a captain and fifty to each. I would wish you to make choice of good officers, because I think it will be better to let them remain the winter than to be often changing.

Enclosed, you have the returns of the two regiments, specifying the States to which the men belong. You will have those of Pennsylvania and Jersey marched under the care of one of the officers to those lines near Pompton and Morristown. The few belonging to Maryland may go with them and be delivered to Colonel Weltner, commanding the German battalion, who will be found either at Sufferans or with the Jersey line, near Pompton. A Captain Marshall, of the New York line, was left pur-

posely to take care of and carry forward the men of that State. You will therefore deliver them to him. Those of the Eastern States will join the respective lines.

You will desire Colonel Livingston and the officer commanding Spencer's to make me very accurate returns of the names and ranks of the officers at the time of dissolution, that they may be transmitted to the Board of War, in order to be registered upon the half-pay list.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

Gº. Washington.

New Windsor, 31st Dec., 1780.

Dear Sir, — I have not brigaded the troops in this day's orders, because I was uncertain whether the regiments of Massachusetts Bay take their numbers from their rank and seniority of the colonels, or from the former number of the regiments. Please to satisfy me on this point by giving me the list of the colonels and number of the regiments they respectively command.

I am, dear sir, your obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

New Windsor, Jan. 1, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have but a moment to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of this date. I beg of you to charge Lieutenant Edes to be attentive to the water guards about Verplanck's Point, and the guards at West Point to the order I requested you to issue relative to boats passing after tattoo.

The perspective delivered by Lieutenant Edes belongs to me, which with the other articles (supposed to be Humphreys) had better be sent hither.

If you think the conduct of Captain Pritchard and the militia of sufficient importance to mention with approba-

tion in your orders, it will be quite agreeable to me, as it may serve as a stimulus. Colonel Hull's next will, it is to be hoped, give you a more copious subject for applause.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. I this instant learn that the glass, &c., has been sent up.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
Jan. 3, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favor of yesterday; and as I conceive it will be necessary for the security of the posts below, and to prevent the enemy from attempting a surprise, to have a captain's command for the water guard, I would have Captain Welles continued on that service with his detachment.

In consequence of Colonel Hay's information that there are considerable quantities of flour on the river, which may be brought down, while it continues open, with less risk in bateaux than vessels, I am to request that you will order a party, properly officered, immediately to take what boats can be spared from West Point for this service; or, in case boats cannot be furnished from thence, that the party have orders to make use of those at Murderer's or Wapping's Creeks. The critical season and the importance of having the flour thrown into the garrison urge the speedy execution of this business. Application will be made by the officer to Colonel Hay, at Poughkeepsie, for further instructions.

I am, dear sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. Captain Chambers is to be ordered to join his regiment immediately.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
Jan. 16, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of last evening. I cannot, by the intelligence I have had from Jersey, believe the enemy are preparing to make a movement in that quarter. However, I could wish to have the truth ascertained.

Colonel Hay informs me there are at least two hundred barrels of flour at the landings, near Poughkeepsie. The present favorable weather urges strongly the necessity of having it thrown into the garrison before the river closes.

I have nothing new from Trenton but that the two spies are actually executed.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your very humble servant,

Gº. Washington.

To Major-General Heath, West Point.

Headquarters, Jan. 19, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I received last night your favors of the 16th and 18th instant, and will attend to the subjects of them as early as possible. Indeed, I shall write immediately to Governor Trumbull, Governor Hancock, and the agents of that State at Springfield, to forward on the supplies of beef cattle, unless they will expect to see a dissolution of the army.

I approve of the arrangements made for carrying into execution the proposed enterprise, as reported by Colonel Humphreys. I have only to advise that it should be conducted with the most perfect secrecy, and executed at the time fixed upon, if possible. The state of the river is such as will prevent the crossing of the detachment of the Maréchaussée corps. Nor will Colonel Humphreys be

able to attend. Of this you will be pleased to inform General Parsons or Colonel Hull.

I am, dear sir, with very great esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, at West Point.

NEW WINDSOR, Jan. 20, 1781.

SIR, — I did not expect that the postscript to my letter of the 14th (written in much haste), requesting *only a suspension of your order of the 13th, until the hurry of the business I was then engaged in should be a little over*, would have drawn from you such a letter as yours of the 16th, which did not come to my hands till the evening of the 18th.

I neither questioned your *right* to issue orders for the government of the post at Fishkill, nor the *propriety* of the order in question; but as it had a tendency, from the representation of the Quartermaster-General, to unhinge his department in this State, and as I knew that we had — God knows — embarrassments enough without further aids, I only wanted a little time to inquire *myself* into the ground of the dissatisfaction, that I might judge better of the expediency of enforcing the order of temporizing; the last of which, from the peculiarity of our circumstances, we have been too frequently obliged to adopt, or hazard the machine.

The hour for this inquiry is not yet arrived; and, without deciding upon the question contained in your letter, I shall observe that the mode you took to discover and correct abuses in the issues of provisions differed from the one I had in contemplation, and which I had actually entered upon, but was delayed in the prosecution of, by a variety of occurrences which pressed upon me at that time; that the only view I had in posting troops at Fish-

kill was to cover the workmen, stores, barracks, &c.; and that I had no idea of Colonel Hazen's having any thing to do with the *general staff* at that place, further than became every good officer and citizen, who had opportunity to look into and represent abuses to his superior, or the power that could rectify them.

I again repeat that the intention of these observations is not to convey an opinion upon the merits of the question. I am perfectly disposed to support my own authority, and yours through it, in every matter consistent with military rule and for the benefit of the service. And the moment I have got some important despatches off my hands, I shall take up this business.

In the mean time, though I require no argument to convince me of the subordinate character of the Quartermaster-General, it will remain a doubt with the gentlemen at the head of that department how far a colonel has a right to meddle in the business of his general staff at Fishkill, which was not fixed there in consequence of Colonel Hazen's going there, for the conveniences of a particular post, but for general purposes of the army.

I am, with esteem and regard, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, at West Point.

NEW WINDSOR, Jan. 25, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — The abilities of the author of the enclosed letter, and his talent for enterprise, are unknown to me. I am unable, therefore, to advise with respect to the project he contemplates. If he has spirit and address equal to the execution of it, and is possessed of sufficient prudence to receive discretionary orders, it will be perfectly agreeable to me that you should give them.

The Colonel is not, I think, an object: the other would

be a great one, and, if executed cleverly, would give reputation proportionate to the brilliancy and importance of the stroke; but it ought not to be attempted by a bungler, because a miscarriage cuts off hope from a future attempt, as even a successful one on the Colonel would render any effort to surprise the General fruitless.

The propriety, therefore, of the enterprise, depends upon the object, and the talents of the officer, the last of which, from your own knowledge, or such as you can obtain by inquiry, you will be better enabled to judge of than I.

I am, dear sir, with esteem and regard,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

29th January.

P. S. The above was wrote before I set out for Jersey. Upon my return last night, I found a letter from Captain Sumner expressing a wish to leave the service. I therefore think it ineligible to hold up an idea to him that his project is agreeable. I am, &c.,

G. W–N.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
Feb. 1, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — Captain Lincoln and Lieutenant Eldred, prisoners lately exchanged, having applied for an extension of their furloughs beyond the first of April, I shall have no objections to any reasonable indulgences in such extraordinary cases, but cannot undertake to act upon particular applications, as this might counteract the general arrangements made by the commanding officers of regiments who ought to be consulted, and give their certificates that the services of the applicants may be dis-

pensed with, for the time proposed, before the indulgence is granted.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
Feb. 2, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I have been favored with your letters of the 30th of December and 1st instant.

You will be pleased to observe that Colonel Crane's regiment is not to be included in the present distribution of clothing in the Massachusetts returns, because this regiment has already drawn a proportion of clothing with the corps of artillery, and the second dividend is to be made upon the same principles. The return called for I wish may be forwarded as soon as possible.

I am surprised you did not learn from General Howe the cause of the detention of Colonel Scammell's detachment, as the order was communicated through him.

It will certainly be advisable to inoculate such of the troops as have not had the small-pox under proper restrictions. Doctor Cochran will wait on you, respecting this matter, to-morrow.

I am, dear sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. I am this moment informed by a letter from General Lincoln that the Assembly of Massachusetts have ordered fifteen hundred coats to be immediately purchased for their troops in camp.

To Major-General Heath, West Point.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
Feb. 5, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have attentively considered the matter in discussion between Colonel Pickering and yourself. You will find my opinion in the following articles: —

1st. The staff departments established at Fishkill have always been considered by me as one of the dependencies of West Point, of course subject to the direction and control of the officer commanding there, in the same manner as the heads of departments are to the Commander-in-chief; their obedience being only qualified by the orders of the Commander-in-chief or by the instructions of their respective chiefs, in the general distributions of their departments.

2d. Major-General Heath therefore had a right to call for returns of the stores and issues in the several departments at Fishkill, to inquire into, report, or correct abuses, according to the nature of the case.

3d. But Colonel Hazen had not the same right, not having had authority for the purpose from General Heath; neither would it have been military to have delegated to him such authority, the principal officers in the several departments according to the proper and customary line of service being immediately responsible to General Heath himself.

4th. General Heath had a right to give the instructions contained in his letter of the 4th of January to Colonel Hazen; and the officers concerned were bound to comply with them.

5th. There was an error in General Heath's orders of the 13th of January, [*torn*] by the received rules of military practice and propriety. Its operation would not only have impeded public business, by obliging a multiplicity of little contingent orders for the articles in question to

pass through a second channel; but it implied such a diffidence of the principals of the several departments as was derogatory to them, and incompatible with the degree of confidence and consideration to which their stations entitled them.

The foregoing are my ideas of the points in dispute, but there is perhaps one thing that merits to be inquired into. The power of granting orders for provision, forage, and fuel, may be in the hands of too many persons, so as to be productive of waste and abuse. I am therefore to request you will require the issuing commissary at Fishkill to furnish you with an accurate return of his issues, specifying the persons, their names and offices, on whose orders they are made; and, if you find the power too diffused, will restrain it within limits consistent with the spirit of the Resolutions of Congress, and with the regularity and good of the service.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
Feb. 9, 1781.

Dear Sir, — Under the particular circumstances mentioned in your letter of the 7th inst., I shall not hesitate to grant a discharge to Captain Smart, upon the conditions therein proposed; although I would not have it by any means considered as a precedent to deviate from the fixed rule of discharges.

The answer given to Sergeant Larvey's petition in November last was that a transference could not be made from one corps to another without the consent of the commanding officer of each, in which case, under certain circumstances, it might be done. No encouragement of a discharge was hinted. In his petition to you, he solicits a

discharge, upon procuring at his own expense a good, able-bodied, American-born man in his room. This proposal may be complied with; but the idea which the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of our army seem frequently to entertain, that by doing their duty faithfully, and refusing to enter into the *service* of the enemy, they have merited their dismission from ours, is exceedingly erroneous. Upon this principle, all our troops who shall at any time be taken prisoners, after their exchange, may claim their discharge.

All new appointments are to be made by the State. While the regiments were extremely weak before the re-formation of the army, it was not necessary that the vacancies should be filled, but upon the present establishment it will be expedient to have the corps of officers kept complete.

I shall speak to the Commissary-General of prisoners respecting those at Fishkill.

I am, dear sir, with great consideration,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH,
commanding West Point, &c.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
11th Feb., 1781.

DEAR SIR, — The new arrangements of all the Massachusetts regiments have been delivered in, agreeable to general orders; but they are not accompanied by the returns of the names and ranks of the retiring officers. As these are equally essential, you will be pleased to call for them immediately, and send them up to me as soon as they come in, that I may transmit them to the Board of War at the same time that I transmit the new arrangement of the line.

Enclosed, you have the court-martial upon Oliver

Richards, of Colonel Sprout's regiment, which was found among the office papers, upon assorting them.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. I have received your favors of the 8th, 9th, and 10th. I will have a further conversation with Doctor Cochran upon the subject of inoculation. It will depend upon being able to procure proper and separate covering.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
15th Feb., 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favor of yesterday. Brigadier-General Warner waited upon me this day with a letter from Governor Hancock, informing me that that gentleman had been sent on with part of the hard-money gratuity allowed by the State to their soldiers who had been enlisted for the war, previous to the second day of December last. You will therefore be pleased to cause the most accurate returns to be made out of the non-commissioned officers and privates who come under the above description. I will obtain similar returns of the artillery from General Knox. When the returns are completed, General Warner will be able to strike his dividend on the first payment.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
16th Feb., 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I return you the proceedings of the division court-martial held by order of Major-General Parsons. I have confirmed the sentence of Taylor, and ordered it to be carried into execution at such time and place as you

shall direct. The punishment ordered to be inflicted upon Cahos is not authorized by the Articles of War; but as it may be sometimes necessary to depart somewhat from the line laid down, for the sake of making the greater impression upon the soldiery, General Parsons may order the sentence to be executed at his discretion. That the man may not be lost to the service, he may, after being drummed out of the line, be delivered to the Quartermaster's department, in which he [may] make an useful laborer, though not qualified for a soldier.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

NEW WINDSOR, Feb. 17, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — Previous to the receipt of your letter of yesterday, I had obtained a list of the field officers from the Adjutant-General, that I might name those for the present detachment. It is enclosed, and I am very sorry to find the number of them so small. From your command, five will be wanting.

I would have eight companies, from the oldest regiments of the Massachusetts line, form one battalion. The two remaining companies from that State, and those of Connecticut and Rhode Island, to form another. Those of New Hampshire and Hazen (with such others as shall hereafter join them) will form another battalion.

Each battalion must have two field officers, and I earnestly wish for good ones. How this is to be effected with the present numbers, without injury to the regiments (which ought never to be left without a field officer, much less at this time, when the recruits will be coming in and the regiments are forming), is not easy to arrange, and leads me to think that Colonel Gimat and Major Galvan ought, circumstanced as things are, to be

employed upon this detachment. No better disposition, therefore, occurs to me than the following: —

Major Reed, of Hazen's regiment, to take charge of the company of his own regiment and those of New Hampshire; Colonel Sherman, if in camp, and Major Galvan, to take charge of the battalion in which the Connecticut troops are; but, if he should not be in camp (as is doubtfully expressed by the Adjutant-General), then Colonel Gimat and Major Wyllis to have the command of it. In the last case, Colonel Jackson or Vose and Major Galvan are to be appointed to the battalion composed altogether of Massachusetts troops; but, in the former, Junat and a good major is to command it.

The appointment of these officers is temporary. The general arrangement of the light infantry for the campaign will not be affected by it. When you have made the final arrangement of them, let me know it, that I may issue a general order respecting them; but you are not to delay ordering them to join for this.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
18th Feb., 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favor of yesterday. As the detachment, now in formation, may be absent five or six weeks, or more (which I mention in confidence), the security of West Point will become our principal object; and you will, for that purpose, as soon as the detachment marches, order the remaining troops on the east side into the garrison, and such part of Hazen's regiment as is not absolutely necessary to guard the stores and prisoners at Fishkill. You will lessen the detachment upon the lines, and call in every small guard and party that you possibly can. In short, every thing must give

way to the security of West Point, during the absence of the large detachment.

As Captain Welles is the officer who properly commands Webb's light company, you will order him to join the light corps with such men as belong to the regiment; and you will be pleased to relieve him with an officer well acquainted with boat service, as, after the river is clear of ice, vigilance on the water will be more than ever necessary.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

P. S. You will leave very small guards, of the most indifferent men, at the huts on the east side, to prevent their being injured.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
19th Feb., 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favors of the 17th and 18th. Major Reed's sentence was published in the orders of yesterday.

The reason of my not including Colonel Sprout or Major John Porter was that the first was up here himself, and mentioned the obligation he was under of going immediately to the eastward. The last, I understood, was employed in executing the duty of deputy adjutant-general to the garrison.

General Parsons's proposition of sending the seven recruits immediately back to the Assembly, now sitting at Hartford, I think a very good one, because it will serve to point out to the Legislature the impositions that will inevitably be put upon the public, if any but military men are to be judges of the sufficiency of recruits. But to avoid the expense and trouble of bringing such trash to the army, and sending them back, I think it highly neces-

sary that a field officer should attend each place of rendezvous, whose business it shall be to inspect each recruit, and, should there be any defect in him, return him immediately to the town from whence he came. General Parsons will know who of the field officers, now in Connecticut, are convenient to the places of rendezvous, and he may appoint them accordingly; and, as our situation will require immediate reinforcement, let directions be given to the superintending officers to send forward the recruits as they come to the rendezvous. We shall have clothing (if the State does not provide it) to make them comfortable, if not uniform; and, if the State should make provision, it may follow.

The general order is sufficient authority for you to order the execution of Taylor.

With great regard, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
22d Feb., 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of the 20th. Enclosed, you have Captain Smart's discharge, bearing date the 1st instant.

I am satisfied with the arrangements you have made below, as you have, I doubt not, taken care that there are men enough appointed to each work to secure it against a *coup de main*, which is the only matter we have to apprehend at this season.

I have written to General Lincoln, to Colonel Shepherd at Springfield, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Olney at Providence, to forward the recruits of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. I have also mentioned the matter generally to Governor Trumbull. You, I imagine, have given particular instructions of a similar nature to the officers in Con-

necticut. If you have not done it, and in the most pointed terms, be pleased to repeat them.

I am, with great esteem,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

Gº. Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
27th Feb., 1781.

Dear Sir, — I last evening received your favor of the 24th. By a return of the 15th instant, there were then at West Point, Fishkill, and Ringwood, one hundred and fifty-one tierces and four hundred and fifty-four barrels of salt meat, and four hundred barrels on the communication from Delaware, which will be coming forward. I have directed the meat from the nearest deposits of Connecticut and Massachusetts to be brought to the river. A very considerable quantity of flour is at the landings, waiting for the opening of the navigation. By a letter from Mr. Phelps, purchasing agent for Massachusetts, we may expect about half a supply of fresh meat weekly, from that State.

The logs for the chain are in tolerable forwardness. Captain Nevin informs me that, with the addition of six carpenters and twelve fatigue men to his present number, they will be ready in good season. All the carpenters of the regiment of artificers being already employed upon that and other jobs, you will be pleased to endeavor to procure six from the troops, the fatigue men also to be sent. The logs are at a landing about two miles above Newburgh, on this side of the river.

The orders given to the officer who first took possession of the post at Dobbs's Ferry were to defend himself to the last extremity, should he be suddenly surrounded; but if he discovered appearances of a serious attack in force, and with artillery, [and had] time enough to withdraw his

men, he was to do it, spiking up his cannon and setting fire to the works. These orders may have been handed over to the present officer, as they were directed to be. Should they not, you will give similar ones.

I am, dear sir, with great esteem and regard,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

P. S. I have received your favor of this date. I will inquire of General Knox whether the arms can be repaired here, and will see if it be in the power of the Quartermaster to supply paper.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, 1st March, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of the 28th ult. From the circumstances which you mention, the command on the lines may be continued at one hundred men, with strict orders to the officers to fall back upon the posts, on the first serious move up the river.

I shall set out for Newport to-morrow morning. My notice is so short that I am obliged to deprive myself of the pleasure of seeing you before I go, which I intended. I have nothing to add to the several instructions lately given to you, but a desire to urge the Quartermaster and Commissary to get down all the provisions upon the river to West Point, the moment the navigation opens. I have written to them on the subject.

General Knox informs me that no quantity of arms can be repaired here. You will therefore direct those which are at the Point to be ready, sorted, and packed up, that they may be sent to Albany as soon as the ice will permit.

I am, with very great esteem, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
March 26, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I recollect there was a gun-boat employed on the river, which was withdrawn at the setting-in of winter, and which is again necessary for the same service. I wish, therefore, you would have it refitted, and stationed as formerly for the same purposes.

In answer to your letter of the 25th respecting inoculation, you will be pleased to observe it was under the idea of the New Hampshire troops being continued at West Point that I consented to have the huts of that line made use of as hospitals, because I was unwilling to have any other troops mix with those under inoculation, so as to spread the infection by ordinary duty, or in case of detachment, and because I wished to be able to put a stop to it at any period. If it can be done in this manner, I still think it advisable, and that the greater number can be accommodated at one time the better.

In the mean time, I have instructed the director of the hospitals to make the necessary preparations as perfectly and as soon as practicable.

I am, dear sir, with very great esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G.º Washington.

To Major-General Heath, West Point.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
March 30, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have received your letters of the 29th. The situation of the New York troops, I am sensible, is indeed distressing; but I am in hopes their distresses will be in some measure alleviated by an order which the Deputy-Paymaster has just received on the treasury of this State for money to pay the troops of its line. Should

this not be productive of relief, I will make representations to Congress, and use every means in my power to have them placed in as favorable circumstances as the troops of other States.

I will urge the forwarding of provisions on the officers concerned, in the most pressing manner.

While on your journey from Rhode Island to the army, I conceive you are entitled to your rations as well as at any other period. As to the extra expenses incurred by the commanding officer of the garrison of West Point, I am not informed what has been the practice on former occasions, nor did General Greene ever converse with me on the subject. It seems but reasonable there should be an allowance for the unavoidable expenses of keeping a table at such a post. Although I do not think myself authorized to establish a precedent of this kind, yet I think it probable that Congress, upon a proper representation, would do what was equitable by establishing a rule to operate generally in such cases.

Before the arrival of some of the general officers now absent from the army, it will be impossible that your presence should be dispensed with; and, even then, it will be with reluctance that I can consent to the absence of a gentleman of such rank, whose services are so necessary, and from whom I have derived such essential aid and assistance.

I am, dear sir, with great esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

NEW WINDSOR, 7th April, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I have received and thank you for your information of this date. To guard against assassination (which I neither expect nor dread) is impossible; but I have not been without my apprehensions of the other at-

tempt, not from the enemy at New York, but the Tories and disaffected of this place, who might, in the night, carry me off in my own boat, and all be ignorant of it till the morning. If the water at night is well guarded, I shall be under no apprehension of attempts of this kind.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. I shall be obliged to you to thank Judge Laurence, and desire him to thank Mr. Beekman, for the information given.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
April 12, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I am favored with your letter of this day. No means in our power, to have the supplies you mention instantly brought forward, shall be left unessayed. The most pointed orders have already been given to the proper officers, repeated applications have been made to the civil authority for impress warrants, and finally we have been forced to have recourse to a military impress, to obtain the teams necessary for the transportation of the flour from Ringwood. I have also written in the most pressing terms to the Governor of Connecticut, stating our impending distresses, and imploring the interposition and assistance of the *Executive* in forwarding the salted provisions from that State. I have now reiterated my directions to the Quartermaster-General on that subject, and will give instructions to the Commissary to make arrangements with him for a supply of rum.

Intelligence hath been communicated from General Forman to the President of Congress, and transmitted by him to me, "that the enemy are preparing another large embarkation at New York, to be commanded by Sir H. Clinton, in person, with the design, as is reported, to occupy a post on the Delaware." How far this is to be de-

pended upon, I know not; but it may not be improper to prevent their turning their preparation to a different object, and striking us in a more important part, where they may conceive we are the least suspicious, and consequently the more vulnerable. Indeed, we ought always to be prepared at all points, and never obnoxious to a surprise, even at our most inconsiderable and distant posts; but I am sensible your vigilance and attention supersede the necessity of any extraordinary caution on my part.

I am, dear sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

P. S. I have attentively examined the proposal contained in your private letter of the 10th inst., and am of opinion from a variety of collateral circumstances, which must be taken into consideration, that the attempt would be inexpedient at the present time.

The gentleman concerned may be assured this is not for want of confidence in his prudence, bravery, or ability to conduct an enterprise.

G. W–N.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
April 12, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your several letters of the 9th, 10th, and 11th instant.

It will be proper, upon the general principle and practice, to order an inquiry to be made into the conduct of the commanding officer of the guard which escorted the prisoners to Easton.

The descriptive lists of the recruits may be lodged with the commanding officers of brigades, or the Deputy Adjutant-General, as you shall think best.

By recurring to the order of the 3d of September, and reflecting on the irregularities which will be produced by having the men of the corps of sappers and miners borne

on two different muster-rolls, I think it will be the most eligible to have the pay abstracts of the men in question made up separately, agreeably to the establishment, and transmitted to the State of Massachusetts for settlement. Although these men are not continued in the regiments of infantry, they are, notwithstanding, considered as part of the quota, and are to be deducted from the number of men to be raised by the State.

I have received a letter from Governor Clinton, of the 8th, respecting Captain Simmons, in which he demonstrates it to have been his intention that Simmons should have acted under your direction, and that he was liable to be removed whenever you thought it expedient, according to the spirit of the enclosed order from him to Major Spaulding.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

G.º Washington.

P. S. Doctor Cochran being sick, application should be made to Doctor McKnight, of Fishkill, in whose hands the stores are, for such a proportion of them as can be spared.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
April 20, 1781.

Dear Sir, — It was exceedingly proper to order the men who left the detachment under the Marquis to be confined. If the practice should prevail, severe examples must be made; but if it ceases here, and the number is small, it may not be worth the while to send them back (although there should not be evidence sufficient to convict them here with certainty), lest the fear of punishment should induce them to a final desertion, on their route to those troops.

By the proceedings of the court of inquiry on Captain

Pope, there appears to be such information respecting the conduct of the officer who was on guard at the time the prisoners made their escape, that it is necessary he should be put in arrest, and brought before a court-martial, for being absent from his guard, and neglect of duty in suffering the prisoners to escape from the guard under his command. This you will be pleased to direct accordingly.

With great regard and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

P. S. I thank you for the newspaper you forwarded by Major Gibbs.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH, West Point.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
May 5, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I was last evening favored with your letters of the 3d and 4th instant.

I am pleased to find the recruits arrive in such numbers as you mention, and desire only that you will use your discretion entirely in barracking or encamping the troops in the best manner possible, to preserve their health. Straw will be an essential article upon their first going into tents.

I have not the least objection that Colonel Tupper should take on the four months' pay to the light companies of the Massachusetts line. But I fear the carrying this money to such a distance from the State where it was emitted will have an unhappy tendency to depreciate its value, disappoint the expectations of the troops, and the wishes of [the] State. However, these inconveniences, I suppose, must be submitted to, in order to prevent greater. I shall have occasion to write to the Marquis, by Colonel Tupper, who, I expect, sets out on his journey immediately.

In your letter of the 29th of April, you inquired whether it was the intention to comprehend the Convention troops under the head of prisoners; in answer to which I should advise (although it may not, under all circumstances, be expedient to consider and exchange them as prisoners, particularly those who left that corps at an early period) that they should not be continued in the service, unless there are very strong reasons to convince the officers of their attachment to the country, and that, whenever they are dismissed in any way, the towns from which they have been sent should be called upon to make good the deficiency.

The recruits, who prove upon investigation to be prisoners, may be confined in the provost at Fishkill, and their names returned to the deputy commissary of prisoners at that place.

I am, dear sir, with very great regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
May 8, 1781.

Dear Sir, — Distressed beyond expression at the present situation and future prospect of the army with regard to provisions, and convinced with you that, unless an immediate and regular supply can be obtained, the most dangerous consequences are to be apprehended, I have determined to make one great effort more on the subject, and must request that you will second and enforce my representations to and requisitions upon the New England States, by your personal application to the several Executives, and even Assemblies, if sitting, as I suppose they will be, in the course of this month.

From your intimate knowledge of our embarrassed and distressed circumstances and great personal influence with

the Eastern States, I am induced to commit the execution of this interesting and important business to you, and wish you to set out on this mission as early as may be convenient.

I am, dear sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
May 9, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — You will be pleased to proceed immediately to the several Eastern States, with the despatches, addressed to the Governors of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, and the President of New Hampshire, on the subject of supplies for the army. The present critical and alarming situation of our troops and garrisons for the want of provision is (from the nature of your command) so perfectly known to you, and your personal influence with the New England States is so considerable, that I could not hesitate to commit to you a *negotiation* on the success of which the very existence of the army depends.

The great objects of your attention and mission are, 1st, An immediate supply of beef cattle; 2d, The transportation of all the salted provisions, in the western parts of Connecticut and Massachusetts; and, 3d, The establishment of a *regular*, *systematic*, *effectual plan* for feeding the army through the campaign. Unless the two former are effected, the garrison of Fort Schuyler must inevitably, that of West Point may probably, *fall*, and the whole army be disbanded. Without the latter, the same perplexing wants, irregularities, and distress which we have so often experienced, will incessantly occur, with eventual far greater evils, if not final ruin.

With regard to the particular mode of obtaining and

transporting supplies, I will not presume to dictate; but something must now be attempted on the spur of the occasion, and I would suggest whether it would not be expedient for a committee from the several States (consisting of a few active, sensible men) to meet at some convenient place, in order to make out upon a uniform and great scale all the arrangements respecting supplies and transportation for the campaign. In the mean time, to avoid the impending dissolution of the army, the States must individually comply precisely with the requisitions of the Quartermaster and Commissary upon them.

As the salted provision which has been put up for the public in the Eastern States (except in the western parts of Connecticut and Massachusetts) cannot at present be transported to the army, you will obtain *accurate official returns* of the quantity that has been procured in the respective States, at what places, and in whose charge it actually is, — and if it should not all be collected and lodged in the deposits that have been pointed out, you will urge this immediately to be done; and that the provision should be repacked, stored, and taken care of, in such a manner as to prevent the hazard of its being tainted or lost by the approaching hot season.

I omit entering into the detail of particulars, which it may be necessary to state to the respective executives (or Legislatures, if sitting), to enforce the present requisition, because you are as well acquainted with the circumstances of our distress, the prospects before us, and the only resources from whence we can derive relief, as it is possible for you to be. Previous to your departure, you will obtain from the Quartermaster-General and Commissary with the army the proper estimates of supplies and transportation to be required of the several States, together with all the light and information concerning their departments which may be requisite to transact the business committed to you.

After having delivered the despatches with which you are charged, and made such farther representation as you may judge necessary, you will not cease your applications and importunities, until you are informed officially whether effectual measures are, or will be, taken to prevent the army from starving and disbanding, — what supplies in general, and particularly of *beef cattle*, may certainly be depended upon to be delivered at fixed, regular periods (monthly or weekly) at the army, during the whole campaign. When you shall have seen this business put upon the surest footing, and in the best train of execution (which you will endeavor to have effected as early as possible), you will be pleased to report to me without delay the success of your proceedings.

I heartily wish you success and a pleasant journey, and am,

Dear sir, with great esteem,

Your obedient and most humble servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. I wish attention may be paid to learn what quantity of rum is in store, at what places, and in what manner it may be forwarded. In transportation, the arrangement should be made with the States, so as to have the articles brought entirely through to the army without having them stopped on the road. You will also be pleased to urge the forwarding of the summer clothing.

Gº. Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
June 13, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I wrote to you on the 8th instant, urging the necessity of having the supplies of provision, rum, and clothing immediately forwarded from the States. These things are of such immense importance to all our plans, that they cannot be repeated too often, or pressed with

too much importunity. And I know there is nothing so likely to succeed as incessant representations on the spot.

In addition to the task already imposed upon you by your former commission, I must now entreat you to turn a share of your attention to the recruits of the several States. Let them be called upon again and again, in the most earnest manner, to fill their battalions, and that instantly. Surely, if the States had a proper idea of our circumstances for want of men, our prospects, if we had them, and our fixed designs of carrying on offensive operations at all events, they would exert themselves beyond any thing they have formerly done. They can, they *must* complete their battalions, if it is only for the campaign.

The recruits and drafts must be hurried on as fast as possible. The militia which have been requested of the Eastern States must also be held in readiness to march when called for, as formerly ordered.

In my last, I mentioned forwarding the clothing which had lately arrived from Spain. I request you will attend to and expedite this business, that it may not be stopped a day on the road from its leaving Boston to its arrival in camp. And that you will advise me when it may be expected.

With great regard, I am, dear sir,

Your obedient and very humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
June 15, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I am favored with your letter of the 7th inst. The letter from Governor Greene, to which you allude, has never been received.

Finding that it may be necessary to commence our operations at an earlier period than was expected, I have

called upon the States to have the militia required of them raised and marched in such time as that they will join the army punctually by the 15th of July. It is my earnest desire that you will urge, in the most forcible terms, the necessity of a pointed compliance with this requisition, as well as sending on all the levies for the Continental battalions.

I am pleased with the representations of the favorable disposition of the States, which I receive from almost every quarter. I lament the embarrassments they experience, and fear, without a spirited and constant exertion, we shall be again disappointed in the essential article of beef cattle, as some gentlemen of consideration from Boston, who saw Mr. Phelps, the superintendent of purchases, inform me that he has had the mortification of not being able to obtain cattle for the supply of the army this week, and that he will not be able to purchase, unless further provision is made for it. A repetition of disappointment, I need not tell you, will be attended with fatal consequences.

Since the enemy formed a junction of their several corps in Virginia, I have not heard that any thing important has happened, though the want of arms for the militia, and of a regular force exclusive of them to check the progress of the enemy, will, I apprehend, expose the country to great temporary calamities and depredations. But to convince us that their conquests are of short duration, while Lord Cornwallis is playing this strange game in Virginia, General Greene is depriving him of all the posts he had occupied in South Carolina. On the 10th of May, Lord Rawdon was compelled to evacuate Camden with precipitation, leaving behind him three of his officers and fifty-eight privates, who had been so dangerously wounded as to be unable to be removed. On the 11th, the strong post of Orangeburg surrendered to General Sumpter. A colonel, several officers, and upwards of eighty men were

made prisoners. On the 12th, the garrison of Fort Mott, consisting of seven officers, twelve non-commissioned officers, and one hundred and sixty-five privates, surrendered by capitulation to General Marion. On the 15th, Fort Granby capitulated to Lieutenant-Colonel Lee. The garrison were made prisoners, and consisted of one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, six captains, six lieutenants, three ensigns, one surgeon, two sergeant-majors, seventeen sergeants, nine corporals, and three hundred and five privates. Large quantities of provisions and considerable stores were captured at some of the posts.

At the same time, the posts of Augusta and Ninety-six were invested by General Pickens. And General Greene, on the 16th of May, had determined to march the army to expedite their reduction.

Thus are our affairs in that quarter situated, at this momentous crisis, when the eyes of the whole world are upon us, when the weakness of the enemy's most important posts in every part and the dispersed state of their troops invite us, and when our own circumstances impel us to make one great effort in conjunction with our generous allies to drive our foes entirely from the Continent.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient humble servant,

G° Washington.

P. S. I entreat you to attend particularly to the several things mentioned in my letter of the 13th.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
20th June, 1781.

Dear Sir, — By the Resolutions of Congress of 13th June, the corps of invalids is ordered to compose a part of the garrison at West Point; and I have now given direction for the whole of it to repair thither accordingly.

The order for the three companies at Boston I have thought proper to enclose to you, that you may facilitate and hasten their movement. I see that all of the men who are capable of marching are sent on under their officers, as soon as the necessary preparations can be made.

I have further to request that you will take the trouble to inquire into the state of these companies respecting clothing, &c., and give an order on the public store for such articles as are actually wanting to make them comfortable and decent, which the clothiers are to furnish so far as can be done, without breaking in upon the clothing lately imported from Spain. You will be pleased to take such other measures as you shall judge expedient for the transportation of the baggage and marching of the men, in such manner as that the greatest possible number of them may be brought without injury, and as speedily as possible, to the point of destination.

In the arrangement of the troops for the campaign, which is just published in orders, the right wing of the army is reserved for your command.

With great regard and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL MCDOUGALL.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
June 22, 1781.

SIR, — On your taking the command of West Point, I wish your attention to the following particulars: Visit the redoubts twice or thrice a week, at uncertain periods. The rolls to be regularly called over, and every man to be present or satisfactorily accounted for. The redoubts to be kept perfectly clean and sweet. No officer to be absent without your leave, nor any soldier without leave from a field officer. Ten days' wood, water, and provisions to be deposited in each redoubt. The garrisons to

sleep within them, and to keep at least two sentries upon the parapet. The upper barracks to be cleaned out and kept for hospitals, and particular attention will be paid to prevent damage being done either to barracks or houses. If there should be provisions in any of the public magazines, it must be frequently inspected, and the safety of the magazines of military stores will require your particular attention. I shall furnish you with a detail of men that I think would be necessary for the defence of each work; but I wish it not to influence you so far as to prevent your increasing or diminishing the number whenever your think necessary.

I am, yours, &c.,

G. W.

To the Honorable Major-General Heath,
Boston.

Headquarters, near Dobbs's Ferry,
8th July, 1781.

Sir, — I have received your several favors of the 18th and 24th ult., and am obliged by the assiduity with which you have attended to the business committed to your care. I hope the exertions of the States may prove equal to your expectations, founded on the good disposition which you say is generally prevailing, to give us all the support in their power. I feel myself, however, at a loss to account for the silence of the Governor of Massachusetts, not having had a word from him since the letters I had the honor to address to him from Wethersfield, dated the 24th May, nor to several others, of later date, which have been written to him on business of great importance. Add to this, I have a letter from General Fellows, of Berkshire, dated 2d of this month, in answer to my request that he would order the militia expected from the two western counties to be sent to Albany, in which he says that "no orders had then been given for detaching

any militia." From this last circumstance, I fully join with you in my fears that the militia of that State will not be raised by the time I hoped to have received them.

I hope the States are fully impressed with an idea of the absolute *punctuality* which will be expected from them in the article of provisions and other supplies requested for the use of the army. *Rum* is become an article of great necessity. Almost none is now with the army.

I have moved our little army so near the enemy as to this place, where I shall hope soon to collect the whole force we expect, that we may be enabled to commence our operations as early as possible. You will, therefore, on receipt of this, immediately come on to join the army, in doing which you will please to take your route through the States of Rhode Island and Connecticut, in such manner as that you may collect the best and most critical information of what is doing in each, to fulfil the requisitions made to them. You will also be pleased to make careful inquiry on the roads, and find the situation and progress of all such supplies as are actually on the communication, coming to the army; and use every effort in your power, that every article may be hastened on with all possible expedition.

With much regard and esteem, I am, sir,

Your most humble servant,

G.° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, 1st Aug., 1781.

DEAR SIR, — Enclosed are three plans for settling the mode of succession in the medical department. They have been submitted to me by the Board of War; but, previous to giving my opinion, I shall be glad to be favored with those of the general officers. You will be pleased to call them together as soon as convenient, and

report to me which plan they seem to approve, with any amendments which may appear to them necessary.

The Director and Chief Physician of the army will attend the board of officers, should they have occasion to ask them any questions upon the business.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

TRENTON, 29th Aug., 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I send you the enclosed letters to be transmitted to the several States, which you will be pleased to do as early as possible. I have delayed sending them on till this time, lest the object of your expedition should be too soon disclosed.

One of the letters is left under a flying seal for your observation, from which you will collect the proportion of militia still requested from the States for your aid, being two-thirds the number originally called for.

It is pretty certain that the British fleet of fifteen sail of the line are arrived at the Hook from the West Indies.

With much regard and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. Militia: New Hampshire, four hundred; Massachusetts, eighteen hundred; Connecticut, fourteen hundred; New Jersey, five hundred.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 2, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — The bearer of this, one of the Stockbridge Indians, has come from the chief of that tribe with an offer of their service for part of the campaign: their ap-

plication you have enclosed. In my answer to those chiefs, I have referred them to you; and, if you think they can be of any advantage, you may order them down. But it has ever been my opinion that their services never compensated the expense. You will inquire into the affair relative to the enlistment of that lad they want a discharge for.

I am, dear sir, your most humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEAD OF ELK, Sept. 7, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I have been favored with yours of the 1st instant, and one by Captain Webb, and am happy to hear that you meet with such little disturbance from the enemy in your department. I have it now in my power to congratulate you on the arrival of Count de Grasse, with twenty-eight ships of the line and some frigates, in the Chesapeake, with a body of land forces on board, which he debarked immediately on his arrival. On his passage, he took Lord Rawdon, who was bound from Charlestown to England. This arrival, with Colonel Laurens's from France, must fill the United States with the most happy prospects and expectations.

I am thus far on my way to Virginia with the troops under my command. We are now embarking the heavy baggage, stores, and some of the troops: the remainder will march by land to Baltimore, as we have not vessels to convey them from this.

Any small clothing that has or may arrive for the troops of the Connecticut line, you will forward a proportion to the detachments of that line, that are either with Colonel Scammell or the Marquis, under the guard of a few men and a trusty sergeant, taken from the same line. I must beg of you not to forget sending the quantity of

beef I requested, as I must at present altogether depend on that supply.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. I wish your particular attention for apprehending a number of deserters that have left this army, and punish them with the greatest severity.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath, Peekskill.

Headquarters, Philadelphia,
Sept. 4, 1781.

Dear Sir, — The bearer of this, a sergeant of Hazen's, is sent to apprehend some deserters from that regiment; and as it is probable a number will leave the regiments, that are now on their march for the southward, who will direct their course for the North River, I wish you to place some careful persons at every ferry, from King's Ferry to Albany, who will apprehend them as they pass that river.

The Eastern States will still continue to supply you monthly with a large quantity of beef cattle, much larger than can be consumed in your department; and, as the army here must at present depend on those supplies, I must request you regularly to forward, every week or fortnight, at the rate of a hundred of cattle per week. If the cattle cross at King's Ferry, you will direct them, under a proper guard, to the care of Mr. Robert Blair, at Morristown, who will discharge the guard and forward them here. But, if it is more convenient to pass the cattle at New Windsor, let them take the route through Warwick and Chester to Sussex Court-house, where Mr. Edward Dunlap has orders to receive them.

I am, dear sir, your most humble servant,

Gº. Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Williamsburg, 23d Sept., 1781.

Dear Sir, — I received your favor per messenger Kane. I have now to inform you that I arrived at this place on the 14th; and, finding it necessary to have a personal interview with the Count de Grasse, I paid him a visit on board the "Ville de Paris," at Cape Henry, from whence I am just returned, after a very decisive conversation with the Count upon measures which may prove very interesting in our present operations.

The troops and stores from the Head of Elk are this day disembarking; the remainder are soon expected. Our operations are fast ripening to their commencement, and in a few days I expect to find myself before the works of the enemy. By information, Lord Cornwallis is incessantly at work on his fortifications, and is probably preparing to defend himself to the last extremity. A little time will probably decide his fate. With the blessing of Heaven, I think it will prove favorable to the interest of America.

I find great embarrassments from the want of sufficient provisions and means of transportation; but, with proper exertions, these difficulties, I hope, will be soon removed.

With respect and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, before York,
Oct. 1, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have received your two favors of the 9th and 12th of September. I am perfectly satisfied with the propriety of the measures you have taken in consequence of the enemy's movements, and the intelligence you had received.

Directions have already been given to the Quartermas-

ter-General for relanding the provisions which were shipped with design to be put under the protection of the Count de Barras, and brought to this place.

I have not leisure to give a particular account of our proceedings: it must suffice to inform you, that, after assembling all the troops at *Williamsburg*, and making the necessary arrangements, the allied army moved on the morning of the 28th of September, and took post in the neighborhood of York that night. The enemy gave us no annoyance on the march. A body of horse, that was paraded in front of their works, retired upon our firing a few shot among them.

The 29th was spent in reconnoitring, and taking a position as near the advanced works as could be done without placing the encampments directly in the range of the enemy's shot. Some skirmishing happened between our riflemen and the Yagers, in which the former had the advantage. At night, the enemy abandoned all their outposts (some of which were very advantageous), and retired to the town. Yesterday morning we occupied the same ground, and last night made some lodgements at a short distance from the lines.

The horses and teams are beginning to arrive from the northward. The heavy artillery will be brought up as soon as possible, and the siege pushed with vigor, as I have no idea that Lord Cornwallis will surrender so respectable a force as he has under his command, unless he is compelled by dire necessity.

I am, dear sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. I am sorry to inform you that Colonel Scammell, who was officer of the day, was wounded and taken prisoner by a party of horse yesterday, as he was reconnoitring one of the works which had just been evacuated.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath, Peekskill.

Headquarters, before York,
Oct. 6, 1781.

Dear Sir, — Your several letters of the 13th, 20th, and 21st of September have been received.

The quartermaster-generals of the allied army will be called upon for their return respecting forage used at Phillipsburg, which you request.

Our present circumstances may, perhaps, render it difficult for them to attend to it at so early a time as may be expected. A copy of the Report of a Board of General Officers, on the rank of subalterns, is sent you enclosed in this.

Since my writing you last, our operations, for want of proper means of transportation, have proceeded rather slowly. The trenches will be opened this night. Nothing very material has occurred. A very sparing fire from the enemy has been kept up through the course of our appearing before their works. A letter for Colonel Enos is enclosed, and left open for your observation. You will please to seal and forward it to him, and continue to correspond with him as occasion may render necessary.

I am, dear sir, with esteem,

Your most humble servant,

G°. Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, before York,
12th Oct., 1781.

Dear Sir, — Your favor of the 25th ult. reached me yesterday. I am obliged by the attention you pay to giving me every important intelligence from your department. Other accounts, as well as yours, agree that the British fleet suffered much in the action with Count de Grasse, and that, in consequence of this shattered condition of their fleet, the transports had returned to New

York, and debarked their troops on Staten Island. The naval engagement between the two fleets appears to have been of much greater importance than was at first estimated. Digby's arrival will scarcely reinstate the British, and the French will still be found greatly superior both in numbers and position.

In my last to you, of the 6th inst., I informed that our trenches would be opened that night: they were so, without discovery from the enemy, until daylight, and our approaches were carried within six hundred yards of the works without loss. The 7th and 8th were employed in erecting batteries. On the 9th, two batteries, one on the right and another on the left, were opened. The next morning, four others being completed, the whole opened a heavy fire of cannon and mortars, which soon became so warm as to drive the enemy from their guns. Their fire was almost totally silenced, and very little return has since been made.

The "Charon," of forty-four guns, with one transport, took fire from our shot or shells the evening of the 10th, and were both consumed. Yesterday, another ship was destroyed in the same manner.

Last night, our second parallel was advanced within less than four hundred yards of the enemy's lines. This approach was also effected without annoyance; and this morning our fatigue men are securely covered, while they are completing their work. The conduct of Lord Cornwallis is really surprising. A few days will probably explain it.

With much regard and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, before York,
16th Oct., 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favors of 27th and 30th ult. I make no doubt but Sir Henry Clinton will make every effort in his power for the relief of Lord Cornwallis. His attempts this way, I trust, will prove ineffectual, unless very soon executed.

In mine of the 12th inst., I informed that our second parallel was opened on the night preceding. That day, the 13th, and 14th, were employed in completing our parallel and constructing batteries for this approach; in doing which, we experienced more fire from the enemy than had before been given us, principally from their small shells, which gave us some annoyance, and little loss of lives.

On the evening of the 14th, two advanced redoubts of the enemy, on their left, were attacked by storm, and very soon carried. One attack was led by Baron Viomenil, who conducted the grenadiers and chasseurs of the French army; the other, by the Marquis de Lafayette, at the head of the American light infantry. The bravery and firmness of the troops on this occasion, guided by a spirit of emulation, were admirable. In these two redoubts, which will prove of great importance in our approaches, we took seventy-three prisoners, including six officers. Two royals were found, and some hand-grenades. Our batteries are now almost ready to be opened from the second parallel.

A small and very precipitate sortie was last night made by the enemy, the first they have yet attempted. It proved to very little purpose on their side, and was attended with little loss on either part.

From all your late letters, as well as from information received from others, it would seem that the enemy are making, not a detachment only from their army, but that almost their whole force from New York is to be em-

ployed on their meditated diversion. Should this prove to be the case, their remaining force will be so small that it will become a matter worthy of your most serious attention to make some attempt upon them in their defenceless state. The particular object to which you will direct your attention is not for me, at this distance, to determine. Your own judgment must dictate, according as you shall be made acquainted with particular circumstances.

I am very glad to hear the quiet and tranquillity that prevails at the northward, and hope it may continue.

With much regard and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEAR YORK,
Oct. 27, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I have safely received your two favors of the 5th and 11th instant. I thank you for the intelligence you have communicated, and am much pleased with the success of the enterprise against the refugee post on Long Island.

Having already transmitted to you all the papers I had received, respecting the inquiry ordered to be made into the conduct of Major-General Howe, while commanding in Georgia, I can give no further instructions until the pleasure of Congress is known, which I will endeavor to obtain at an early period.

There will be no occasion for forwarding on any more beef cattle from the northward for this army. Should there be a greater quantity of cattle sent from the New England States than the daily consumption of your army shall require, I could wish the surplus might be salted (if practicable), at some convenient place on the North River. Otherwise, it will be necessary for you to give orders

to the agents and commissaries, to prevent their sending more cattle than you shall have occasion for. I have also to request that you will take measures to have all the salted provisions on Connecticut River (that which was formerly shipped for Rhode Island included) transported to West Point before the roads become impassable.

You will, before this time, probably have heard of our success against Lord Cornwallis, and seen the articles of capitulation published by order of Congress. I omit, therefore, giving you the particulars.

From repeated intelligence received from the northward, Admiral Digby has been expected, but has not yet been heard of on the coast.

With great regard and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH,
commanding the Army on the North River.

HEADQUARTERS, NEAR YORK,
Oct. 29, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — As the troops belonging to the States eastward of the Delaware are preparing to return from Virginia, and as the season for placing the army in winter quarters is fast approaching, I have thought it expedient to give you this early notice of the disposition of the troops, that preparations may be made for their accommodation accordingly.

The troops of New Jersey will remain in that State, near Morristown, for the protection of the country; and perhaps the regiments of New York will be stationed between that place and the North River, to secure the communication. The troops from the Eastern States are to furnish a suitable garrison for West Point, and the remainder of them are to be hutted in the vicinity of the river, upon the same principles, and for the same pur-

poses, as they were disposed of the last winter. In choosing the ground for your cantonments, the defence of the post of West Point and its dependencies, is the first object of attention, and the protection of the country from the depredations of the enemy is to be considered of the next importance. The latter, I think, may be much better effected by keeping light parties upon the lines than by establishing permanent posts.

Being fully sensible that you are ever attentive to the health and convenience as well as the discipline and good order of the troops, I need not be more particular than just to mention that the army should be so disposed of and accommodated, in their winter quarters, as to render them fit for early, vigorous, and decisive action in the spring.

I shall set out for the eastward in a few days, and in the mean time

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

MOUNT VERNON, 15th Nov., 1781.

DEAR SIR, — Within a few days, I have been favored with your several letters of the 24th and 30th of October, and the 3d of the present month, with their enclosures, and am much pleased to find that matters wear so favorable an aspect at the northward. The season being so far advanced, and the prospects of the enemy appearing to be on the decline, I hope we shall have but little more trouble from that quarter.

The troops which have been at the southward having received in Virginia, they will not be considered in the distribution of the clothing which you mention at Newburgh. I have written to the Board of War respecting the materials coming on from Boston, and have desired a competency to be lodged at New Windsor for the troops in that

neighborhood, to be distributed to the several regiments, to be made up under their direction. I hope the supply will answer our wants.

A supply of meat for the army, I think, must be kept up by applications to the committees of the several States, who are engaged for that article; and bread, I doubt not, will be forwarded in sufficient quantities by Mr. Morris. The one hundred beeves which have been ordered to be sent weekly to the southward, you are before this time informed, are to be discontinued.

With much regard and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

PHILADELPHIA, 28th Nov., 1781.

DEAR SIR, — Your several favors of the 9th, 12th, and 17th instants, with their enclosures, are received.

The disposition of the troops for winter quarters, I think, is well arranged. The New Hampshire regiments, as they are already on the ground, had best remain at the northward, for the protection of that frontier. Hazen's have already performed a long tour of march and duty; and it may seem hard to send them still so much further; and the New Hampshire regiments I should suppose fully equal to the purpose of guarding the northern frontier during the winter.

I have conversed with Mr. Morris on the subject of your want of flour. He seems surprised at the circumstance, as he had supposed that a sufficient quantity had been procured by his engagement with the State agent of New York for five thousand barrels, and some other purchases ordered to be made by himself. He will take care for your better supply.

Money is an article of greater difficulty. I am very sensible of the distress of the army, and shall do all in my

power, while I remain in this town, to obtain them a sum; but the financier at present gives me but small encouragement.

The success of Colonel Willet at the northward does him great honor, and I hope it will be attended with very good consequences.

With great regard and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

PHILADELPHIA, 8th Dec., 1781.

DEAR SIR, — A committee of Congress are preparing a report, in which they wish to ascertain, with as much precision as possible, the number of men we shall have remaining by some fixed day the ensuing spring. In order to effect this, a very accurate return will be necessary, specifying the term for which every non-commissioned officer and private stands engaged. You will, therefore, immediately call for such an one from the troops under your command, made out regimentally. You will be pleased to direct the returns to be made as speedily as possible, and transmit them to me the instant they come in.

I am, with much esteem, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 15, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favors of the 3d and 4th instants. General Lincoln informs me that he has written to you fully on the subject of clothing.

It having been thought necessary by Congress that an escort should accompany the mail from Fishkill to Morristown, I do not look upon myself at liberty to judge of the

propriety of continuing or discontinuing the measure. The duty must be performed by reliefs from Sheldon's regiment, as the Quartermaster is not able to furnish the fresh horses required.

I am in possession of a deal of intelligence similar to that furnished by Captain Edgar, and am at a loss to know whether the Vermontese are playing a merely political or guilty game. I have reason to think the former. I am now endeavoring to get all our prisoners in Canada exchanged; and if any of them, after they are released, can throw light upon a number of transactions which I confess are mysterious, they will be made use of for that purpose.

You will be pleased to introduce the enclosed Resolve of the 29th October into your general orders, addressing it particularly to those officers and men who served at the siege of York. It came to my hands after the army had moved from York, and they have not before been again in so collected a state as to receive the honor conferred upon them by Congress.

I wrote yesterday to Colonel Pickering, supposing my letter would reach him upon the North River, to concert measures with you for the security of all the boats not wanted for the uses of the garrison, and to bring down with him a very accurate return of the number upon hand, with their condition. Should my letter not meet him, you will be pleased to attend very particularly to the first, and direct the return to be made to me.

The financier having completed his contract for the supply of West Point and its dependencies with provisions, and the Quartermaster having been furnished with the means of procuring forage, I am in hopes you will soon experience the salutary effects of those measures.

I am, with much esteem,

Your obedient humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath,
commanding upon the North River.

Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of the 12th and 18th instants. Doctor Cochran is of opinion that the season is favorable for the inoculation of all those who have not had the small-pox. The new contractors have agreed to furnish stores necessary for the patients, and the moment things are in readiness you will be pleased to have the work begun.

The clothing for the Rhode Island regiment, which had been prepared last summer by the State, has been ordered down here. Should it not have left the North River, the subaltern's party may take it in charge. If it should have come forward, the party must nevertheless join the regiment.

It is not now material whether the returns called for in mine of the 8th are transmitted, as others, of a particular description, have been required by Congress, and the Adjutant-General has furnished his deputy with you, and the commanding officers of the York and Jersey lines, with forms for their government in making them out.

You will be pleased to inform me what officer of the New Hampshire line will take the command upon General Stark's retiring for the winter. If he should not be fully competent to the purpose, another must be sent up.

I am glad to hear you are so well supplied with provisions, and I hope the troops are by this time getting on some of their new clothing. I may, on these accounts, venture to hope that you will spend a happy and merry Christmas, a thing that has not happened for some years past.

I am, with much esteem,
Your obedient humble servant,
G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath, West Point.

Philadelphia, 31st Dec., 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of the 22d instant, and have consulted the Secretary at War upon the manner of disposing of the remainder of the British clothing. He is of opinion, with me, that your proposal of delivering it to the tenth Massachusetts regiment, which will remain brigaded with the New Hampshire line, and to the Jersey and York lines, will be the only way of preserving a complete uniformity in three brigades. You will therefore proceed in the deliveries accordingly.

It is to be wished that the ground was of a proper color, but under our circumstances we must wear such as we have upon hand.

Enclosed, you have a copy of the Resolve which passed at the time the State regiment[s] of New York were proposed to be raised.

By this it appears that they were to be subsisted and clothed by the public, upon certain conditions, which have not been complied with. I cannot therefore direct a delivery of clothing to them; but, as I think the corps an useful one, I would recommend it to the State to make application to Congress on the subject, and, if I should be consulted, I will promote their representation.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

G°. Washington.

P. S. I am anxious for the returns called for by the Adjutant-General, agreeable to a form transmitted. Be pleased to hurry them. Yours of the 26th is just come to hand.

To Major-General Heath, West Point.

Philadelphia, 3d Jan., 1782.

Dear Sir, — The embarkation mentioned in yours of the 26th ult. did take place, and has sailed, supposed for Charlestown.

You need give yourself no more trouble on account of the salt provisions at Providence. All our distant magazines now come under the directions of the Superintendent of Finance, who will dispose of them to the contractors or others, if they do not want them.

Every proper indulgence has been granted to the soldiers of the Connecticut company raised at Wyoming. When they were removed from thence last spring, by order of Congress, Colonel Butler had liberty to grant furloughs to those whose families would be most distressed by their absence; and he did so. If there are others under the same circumstances, I should have no objection to their being allowed the same indulgence, a like number of those upon furlough being called in. But I cannot consent to the interference of the State in giving discharges. That is a matter altogether foreign to their power, and, if once admitted, would lead to disagreeable consequences. I return the papers relative to the affair.

Be pleased to order the tenth Massachusetts regiment up to Albany, to be quartered in the town, as soon as they are clothed, which I beg may be as expeditiously as possible, and hold two other regiments in readiness to move. I particularly mention the tenth, because it will be brigaded with the two New Hampshire regiments. You will also give orders to the officer commanding at the northward to keep all the troops in that quarter as compact and as ready for service as possible.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

Go. Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Philadelphia, 8th Jan., 1782.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favors of the 30th of December, and 1st and 3d instants.

Having no papers with me but those of a late date, I cannot recollect the circumstances of the arrangement of the captains of the Massachusetts line, to which you refer. If it was ever made and delivered in, it must be among my papers in the hands of Colonel Varick, at Poughkeepsie. You will therefore be pleased to write to him, mentioning the time at which the arrangement was made, and by whom, and desire him, if he finds it, to transmit it to you. If it appears complete, and such an one as gives satisfaction, I have no objection to its being acted upon.

The Secretary at War will, before this reaches you, have transmitted the forms of the vouchers to be passed to the contractors upon the delivery of rations, and has written fully to the Clothier-General upon every matter in that branch. He has particularly instructed him to spare no pains nor reasonable cost in procuring country tailors to assist in making up the uniforms.

I shall attend to the situation of those men left sick at Annapolis.

Inclosed is the copy of the instructions to Major-General McDougall, upon taking the command at West Point last summer.

The command to the northward may for the present be left in the hands of Colonel Reid, or whatever officer may happen to be eldest in the brigade.

I am, with great esteem, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

G^{o}. Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Philadelphia, 12th Jan., 1782.

Dear Sir, — Your favor of the 8th came to hand this morning. The Director-General is not in town; but, that the business of inoculation may not be unnecessarily delayed, I have desired Doctor Bond to give directions to Doctor Ledyard to take out the medicine proper for the occasion. I have no directions to give respecting the remainder. I suppose there were good reasons for ordering the whole here; indeed, I am told the greater part must undergo a preparation in the Elaboratory before it can be used.

I am so anxious to obtain the returns called for, that I may transmit them to the States, that I cannot help again wishing you to expedite them as much as possible. You need not call for those of the York and Jersey lines. They will be transmitted immediately to me.

I am, with much esteem, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G.° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Philadelphia,
Jan. 22, 1782.

Dear Sir, — I have received yesterday your two favors of the 10th instant; also, the letter of the 14th, enclosing the returns of the Massachusetts and Connecticut regiments. I must repeat again that I am extremely anxious that the state of the troops should be collected and transmitted to the several Legislatures as early as possible, in order to their taking effectual measures to complete the deficiencies. Every moment ought to be improved to the best advantage, to enable us to take the field early, and with a prospect of success.

I am glad to hear the spirit of enterprise still prevails, and that the attempts in the *petit guerre* are attended

with success. I am of opinion it will be policy to encourage desertion from the enemy, and have it in contemplation to publish a proclamation of pardon to the deserters from our army. In the mean time, I think it will be expedient to grant a pardon in the instance you mention.

There is a Resolution of Congress, respecting the music of the army, which the Adjutant-General will transmit to you. This prohibits enlisting any more under that denomination, but does not affect those already in service. You will be pleased, therefore, to order clothing for them accordingly.

I am pleased that the making of the clothing goes on so well. I should not think it would be improper to let the country tailors take the articles to their homes to make, under such restrictions as will prevent their embezzlement or loss to the public.

With great regard and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Philadelphia, 29th Jan., 1782.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of the 18th and 19th instants. I am extremely sorry that there has been a necessity for your taking such disagreeable measures with Major-General McDougall. The Adjutant-General will transmit an order for holding a general court-martial on the occasion.

Considering the situation of the tenth Massachusetts regiment, I would not have them hurried up to Albany. When they are clothed, and those who are to have the small-pox are recovered, it will be time enough. No detachment of the army need march in their stead.

By a Resolve of Congress, colonels while commanding brigades are entitled to the rations of a brigadier, consequently they will be paid for those retained at nine and

a half pence, Pennsylvania currency, the price of a ration by contract. The same rule holds good as to all other officers.

I am not acquainted with the pay and rations of those in the Quartermaster's department; but when they are by Resolve of Congress allowed more than one ration, and do not draw them, I take it for granted they are to be paid at the rate above mentioned.

The cause of allowing the extra ration will cease, when the officers are paid their subsistence-money regularly. The deputy paymaster sets out in a few days, prepared to make those payments from the 1st of February.

I shall shortly issue a proclamation, offering pardon to all our deserters, in the service of the enemy, who will return to their colors. You may, in the mean time, encourage the practice. I heartily wish the States would publish like acts of grace, as I am confident the new corps might be by such means much, if not entirely, reduced.

If Colonel Pickering has not left the North River, he can inform you whether any or what steps have been taken to procure a return of the horses and cattle of the French army, which were in the camp at West Chester. Should nothing have been done, the request will go properly from him to General de Beville, the Quartermaster-General.

I am obliged by your care in forwarding the information of Colton, upon which, however, I do not place much confidence. One circumstance contradicts the whole affair. The conversation alluded to is said to have happened in September or October last. I was not at that time in Philadelphia, neither did I myself then know that I should make any stay in this city in the course of the winter. It is not, therefore, probable that a plan should have been laid to hurt me in Philadelphia.

I shall immediately lay a copy of Messrs. Wales and Davis's letter to Major Lunt before Congress. It is too

delicate a matter for me to decide upon. Until their determination is known, I would wish the delivery of the State clothing to be suspended.

As General Schuyler seems of opinion that he can make a valuable use of Captain Duncan, I have no objection to his being given up to him.

I will make inquiry whether Major Porter obtained leave of absence from Congress. He never had any from me.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

PHILADELPHIA, 31st Jan., 1782.

DEAR SIR, — The inclosed, to Generals Lincoln and Huntington and Colonel Olney, contain the returns of the troops of the Eastern States, and circular letters to their Legislatures. They have been already delayed much longer than I could have wished, owing to the difficulty of collecting the returns, some of which have not yet come in. For that reason I have left under flying seal the letter to General Lincoln, that you may insert the amount of the two New Hampshire regiments in the return of the troops of that State. I think those returns must be with you by the time this will reach you. But, should they not, you must write a line to General Lincoln, and inform him that you will forward them the moment you get them.

That these despatches may go on with speed and security, I must request you to put them into the hands of an active officer, who will himself deliver them to the gentlemen to whom they are addressed. The expenses of his journey will be borne by the public. You will charge him to make all possible haste, as I fear some of the Legislatures will be about rising.

Yours of the 26th instant, inclosing Sheldon's return, is this moment come to hand.

I am, with great esteem, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

PHILADELPHIA, 19th Feb., 1782.

DEAR SIR, — Yesterday's post brought me your two letters of the 8th and 13th instant, with a note of General Patterson's enclosed.

The operation of the Resolve for allowing an extra ration to certain officers ceases under the new system. The inclosed regulation of the Secretary at War will show what number of rations an officer of every rank is entitled to. With respect to allowing an additional subsistence to the officers who command on the lines, and at King's Ferry, it does not lay with me to give any orders on this matter; but I am of opinion that to comply with the request would be attended with bad consequences, as it would open a door to continual application of this nature from every officer who may be detached from his corps, and as to the burthen falling unequally, this may easily be prevented by relieving from time to time the officers who command at such posts.

Colonel Pickering informs me he has written for the returns of cattle kept by the French army, and will forward them so soon as they arrive.

As the auditors have ceased to act, their certificates must be dispensed with, and those of the regimental paymasters and deputy paymaster-general must be sufficient to entitle an officer to his discharge.

I am fully of opinion, with you, that a brigade court-martial had no right to deviate from the law of the State, nor ought Gilchrist to be discharged till he has served the full time prescribed by that law.

With respect to the Rhode Island huts, if you are of opinion that they will not be wanting when the recruits come in, I think the proprietor might be permitted to take them at the appraisement, for I should suppose that a scarcity of wood in their environs will render them useless for any future cantonment.

I thank you for your attention in removing the arms to Fishkill. They were, I believe, ordered on by the Secretary at War, and intended to be stored in the vicinity of West Point. I have acquainted General Knox of their arrival, and he will give the necessary directions in that matter. I am pleased, also, with what you have done respecting the laying up of magazines for the posts in the northern district. How so essential a provision came to be neglected in the contract, I cannot say. It was a matter I mentioned as necessary at the time the contracts were forming.

I have conferred with Mr. Morris on that part of your letter respecting the officers' rations; and he will write you very fully on the subject, by this opportunity.

I believe I omitted to inform you that Major Porter had not the leave of Congress to go to Europe.

Inclosed is a Resolve of Congress relative to the Massachusetts clothing. You will naturally suspend the distribution of it till the determination of the State is known.

With great regard, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G^{o}. Washington.

P. S. The regulation above mentioned, not coming from the War Office in time, shall be sent next opportunity.

To Major-General Heath.

Philadelphia, 28th Feb., 1782.

Dear Sir, — At the request of the Superintendent of Finance, I beg leave to make you acquainted with the mode by which he proposes to furnish the officers with a supply of clothing, and with the reason which induced him to adopt that mode. These you will be pleased to communicate to the officers under your particular command, as you may find opportunities, in order to remove any misapprehensions which may have arisen, upon a hasty or partial view of the matter.

Had the valuable store-ship, the "Marquis de la Fayette," arrived safe from France, we should have had it in our power to have supplied the officers with the necessary articles of clothing out of the public magazine; but she unfortunately miscarried. The financier, upon being informed of this, and knowing the distress of the greater part of the officers who had now no right to place any further dependence upon their States, they being called upon for a sum equal to the whole expenses of the war, immediately set about devising a plan by which he could afford relief to their wants without involving himself deeper in those difficulties with which he is perplexed by the scantiness of public funds.

Upon inquiry, he found gentlemen of extensive commercial credit (Messrs. Sands & Co.) willing to supply a quantity of goods proper for the army at their places of cantonment, upon a credit of six months, and upon as low terms as they could be procured elsewhere. He therefore fixed upon the measure which is now about to be adopted, that of giving each officer a note for a certain sum payable in six months, which the owners of the goods will receive in payment. But there is no obligation upon any officer to take these notes, or, after he has received them, to purchase clothing of Mr. Sands. Should he have sup-

plied himself beforehand, he may keep them till the time of payment, which will be punctually complied with; he may discount them, or he may lay them out in any kind of stores for the campaign. The great object was to procure a supply of clothing, of which the bulk of the officers were undoubtedly in want.

Mr. Morris very prudently foresaw that the end would not be answered, except a person could be procured who would engage to furnish a quantity of goods, and to take the promissory notes at their full value. In this I flatter myself he has succeeded, as I am informed by those gentlemen who have taken up goods from Mr. Sands that they have been perfectly satisfied with his prices.

It is to be hoped, if the States comply in any degree with the requisitions upon them, that we shall be able to put both officers and men upon as good and regular a footing for pay as they are now for clothing and provision, to which it was certainly wise first to attend. The new taxes cannot be expected to come into use for some time, and therefore the kind of anticipation which the financier has hit upon was a matter of necessity, not of choice; and as such I hope it will be received by the gentlemen of the army, who will be certainly benefited by it.

With great regard, I am, dear sir,

Your very obedient servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To GENERAL HEATH.

PHILADELPHIA, March 4, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — Upon an intimation that the enemy's vessels had been caught in the ice at Lake Champlain in returning to St. John's, last fall, General Schuyler sent a scout of Indians to ascertain the fact; and I had determined, had they returned in time with a favorable report, to have attempted the destruction of the vessels. Not having yet heard any thing more of the matter, I have

little doubt but it will be too late to make the attempt, supposing the situation to have been as represented. But, as I would wish not to have missed an opportunity of striking a stroke so very detrimental to the enemy, I have desired General Schuyler to communicate his information to you, and, if the thing should be deemed yet practicable, to make you acquainted with the strength of the party necessary for such an operation, and with the manner it ought to be equipped. You will give the officer such instructions as shall be concerted between General Schuyler and yourself.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

HEADQUARTERS, PHILADELPHIA,
March 4, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 20th inst., with the several inclosures, has been duly received.

I cannot but hope your decision respecting the soldiers under sentence for desertion will be attended with beneficial consequences.

It is a fortunate circumstance that the troops will be recovered from the small-pox at so early a period as will afford time for establishing discipline and making preparations for the field before the opening of the campaign. Not a moment should be lost in having the recruits drilled and instructed in their duty as soon as they arrive, and in having the corps as much collected and as perfectly disciplined as the state of the service will admit. The former discouragements and difficulties arising from the want of clothing, I flatter myself will be removed; and a new stimulus will therefore be given to the ambition of both officers and men. I wish it may also be impressed on them that, the regiments being now on an equality with respect to the articles received of the public, whatever

difference of appearance there shall be discovered in different corps must be owing to the superior attention of the officers and emulation of the men, in those regiments which shall be found to make the most soldier-like appearance, and cannot fail to attract the notice and applause of their generals, as well as gain that just preference in the eyes of their allies which must be extremely flattering to them as military men.

To determine on the objections which Major-General McDougall has made to the president and three of the members of the court-martial appointed for his trial, recourse must be had to the *precedent* established on a similar occasion in the trial of General Arnold, in which the validity of challenges is ascertained. You will be pleased, therefore, to apply to my recording secretary, Colonel Varick, in whose possession I believe the original paper is, for a copy of it, that the present dispute may be decided upon the principles there laid down.

I inclose a line to Colonel Varick for that purpose.

I am, dear sir, your very humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. I wish you to furnish General McDougall with copies of such returns and official papers as may be necessary in the course of his trial. Your letter of the 24th is just come to hand.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

PHILADELPHIA, 12th March, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your several letters of the 23d, 27th, and 28th ult., and 5th and 6th instants.

I approve of your having sent a detachment to possess the huts of the Connecticut State troops, until a body of militia could be again assembled for that purpose.

I am glad to hear that the greater part of the stores have been removed from Claverack, and I will see that

means are provided to comply with General Schuyler's promise of pay to the militia who guarded them.

Supposing that all possible care has been taken to make an equitable arrangement of the subalterns of the Massachusetts line, I approve of it, and desire it may be published accordingly.

General Patterson's information respecting the Indian chief is yet so vague that there is no coming to any determination upon it. He may desire his friend to prosecute the inquiry; and, if he finds there are good grounds to believe the Indian sincere, measures may be taken to bring him over.

I perceive you had not, upon the 27th ult., received Mr. Morris's letter explaining the reason of the contractors charging a seeming advanced price upon the officers' extra ration of rum; but, as you must have gotten it since, I shall say no more upon that subject. I cannot conceive how any difficulty should arise upon the prices of the other articles, which are expressly specified in the contract. Lord Stirling appears not to have had a copy before him, as the prices, at which he says the articles were to have been furnished, do not agree with those stipulated in the contract, extracts from which I enclose. The officer is upon the safe side. He draws his rations; and, if the contractor charges more than he is entitled to do by his agreement, the appeal will go to the Superintendent of Finance, who will oblige him to do justice.

Those artificers who, by the terms of their engagements, are to have an addition to the common ration, must undoubtedly draw it; and it will lay with the commanding general to order an addition to fatigue men or those upon extra duty, when he sees occasion.

I am pleased to hear of the several partisan strokes upon the enemy's light corps. It is a spirit which I would wish to see encouraged. You will be good enough to present my thanks to the officers concerned.

I have had information similar to Captain Pray's through other channels, and have communicated that and the several matters contained in your last letters to Congress.

I am, with great esteem, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

MORRISTOWN, 26th March (evening), 1782.

DEAR SIR, — I am on my way to the North River, and shall pass through the Clove the last of this week. I wish you therefore to detach a captain and fifty men, so as that they may be, on Friday night next (that is, on the night of the 29th inst.), at Galloway's, or some other farm-house nearer to the place where the new road from Ringwood forms the junction with the Smith's Clove road. It will be best for the party to be supplied with three or four days' provision, lest bad weather or accident should prevent my coming forward so soon as I propose. The officer will remain there until he hears from me.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. If the party cannot get to the place of destination on Friday night, they should, at all events, be there by Saturday morning.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH,
13th April, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — I send you, enclosed, a copy of a letter which I yesterday received from the Minister of War.

You will be pleased, upon its receipt, to convene the principal officers of the several regiments, and collect their opinion how far it will be agreeable to the army that the

commutation mentioned should take place. I wish to make the contracts as acceptable and easy to both parties as circumstances will permit; and hope, from the characters of the undertakers, that this contract will be conducted in such manner as to give mutual satisfaction.

The opinion of the officers on this subject, when collected, you will be so good as to transmit to Mr. Phelps, at Grenville, who wishes to receive an answer as soon as possible.

With esteem and regard, I am, dear sir,

Your most humble servant,

Gº. Washington.

Newburgh, 15th April, 1782.

The Commander-in-Chief states to the general officers: —

That, from the best information he has been able to obtain, the *regular* force of the enemy in New York, *at this time*, including their established provincial corps, amounts at least to 9,000 men.

That the city militia, volunteer companies, rangers, and some other small corps in the town, amounted, by a report made to the Secretary of State in the winter of 1780 (when the enemy apprehended an attack on New York, and were preparing for defence), to 3,390 men, exclusive of sailors and marines. And that this is the best criterion by which he can form a judgment of their present strength.

That the enemy's force in Charlestown, by the last information and estimation of it, consisted of 3,300 men.

That the garrison of Savannah in Georgia, he conceives, cannot be less than 700 men.

That even among men of political knowledge and judgment, a diversity of sentiment prevails respecting the evacuation of the Southern States. That, if this event

should take place, and the whole force of the enemy should be concentred at New York, it will stand thus: —

Regular troops now at New York	9,000
From Charlestown	3,300
Savannah	700
Regulars	13,000
Militia, &c., at New York	3,390
Total	16,390

Under this state of the enemy's force, the Commander-in-Chief requests the opinion of the general officers, separately, and in writing, upon the following hypothetical questions: —

1st. Supposing the enemy's force at New York to be as above, that they retain possession of the harbor of New York, and that they have a naval superiority upon this coast.

2d. Supposing the same force, that they keep possession of the harbor, but lose their superiority at sea.

3d. That they shall have the same force in the city, but shall lose the command of the water, both in the harbor and at sea.

Is there, it is asked, a probability, in all or either of these cases, that we shall be able to obtain men and means sufficient to undertake the siege of New York? What efficient force will be necessary for the enterprise, in the cases which may be deemed practicable? And what number of militia ought to be demanded to secure this force?

If the enemy should not reinforce New York with their southern troops, and none should arrive from Europe, their force at that place will then be: —

Regulars	9,000
Militia	3,390
Total	12,390

The Commander-in-Chief propounds the same questions, identically, on this number, as he does of the larger one (of 16,390), and requests that they may be answered accordingly, numbers only making the difference of the cases.

That every information may be received, which is in the power of the general to give, to form a judgment on these questions, he adds: —

That the northern army (as at present) will be composed of the regiments from New Hampshire to New Jersey, inclusive; also, of Hazen's, Lamb's, and Crane's regiments of artillery, and Sheldon's legionary corps.

That the total number of rank and file in the above regiments of infantry, by the last general return in his possession, amounts to 8,005; but from this the deductions incident to all services, and peculiar to ours, are to be made, to obtain the efficient force.

That it is not in his power to inform what strength those regiments will be brought to, in season for an operation against New York: he can only say that every argument he was master of has been urged to the respective States, to have them completed to their full establishment.

That in case the enemy should evacuate the Southern States, the Continental troops in that quarter, as far at least as North Carolina, will be ordered to rejoin the main army; but their numbers being small, and the march great, the support from them cannot be much. 2,500 men is the most that can be expected.

That, in the month of March last, he apprised the States from Delaware eastward that the plans and operations of the campaign might require a considerable aid of militia, and entreated that the executive of each might, to prevent delay, be vested with sufficient powers to order them out for three months' service, to commence on their joining the army. And —

That the French force on the Continent at this time

does not, he believes, exceed 4,000 effective men. Whether any, or what further succors, are to be expected from our allies, is as yet unknown to him.

The Commander-in-Chief concludes the above state of matters with the following observations: That offensive operations, of whatever kind they may be (being generally the result of choice), ought to be undertaken with due consideration of all circumstances, and a moral certainty of succeeding; for besides involving the public in a heavy expense, which the situation of our affairs can illy afford, disgrace and censure scarce ever fail to attend unsuccessful plans, while the enemy acquire spirits by, and triumph at, our misfortunes.

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, April 16, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — The fish mentioned by the Secretary at War are doubtless meant to be those of the season, as shad or herring. Whether salted or fresh, I cannot determine; perhaps both.

On the subject of your request for leave of absence, Major-General McDougall has, so early as the first of this month, entered his caveat against your obtaining it. His reasons are assigned in the inclosed copy of his letter to me, which is transmitted for your observation.

I am unacquainted on what principles or by what authority the arrangement of the captains of the Massachusetts line has been established, agreeable to the list you was pleased to send me. Whatever the principles may have been, I wish the matter may be satisfactorily conclusive, and that no further uneasiness may subsist in the line on account of the disposition of *rank*.

I am your obedient humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Newburgh,
April 17, 1782.

Dear Sir, — The inclosed state of queries I transmit for your consideration, and beg to have your observations thereon as soon as may be convenient. An early period will be most agreeable, as it is impossible for me to say how soon I may be obliged to make use of them. You will be pleased to communicate the same to Major-General Howe and Brigadier-General Patterson, that I may also be favored with their opinions on the subject. Let me add, also, Baron De Steuben, who, I believe, is at West Point.

I have not yet seen the contract for the moving army, but am told by the gentlemen concerned that the places for the deposit of magazines are to be determined by me; as also what are to be deemed the Dependencies of West Point. That I may be enabled to decide on these two points, I shall be much obliged by your opinion, and that of the general officers above mentioned. In giving your sentiments on the former, many contingencies of the campaign are to be taken into consideration. The latter may be ascertained with precision.

I am, dear sir, with very great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

G.o Washington.

P. S. It is necessary to premise that the contract for West Point and its Dependencies, and the other for the moving army, are in different persons, which creates the distinction, and the necessity of determining which I am called upon to do.

G. W–n.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Newburgh,
18th April, 1782.

Dear Sir, — I have received your three several letters of yesterday.

I do not certainly recollect the report of Major-General Lincoln on his return from Boston, but have supposed that he took the necessary measures to forward the recruiting service in that State. Indeed, this appears to be the case by Major Pettingill's letter to you, who says that Lieutenant-Colonel Badlam was appointed, by General Lincoln's orders, to supersede him, as superintendent for that State.

I inclose, for your information, a copy of the Resolutions of Congress respecting the recruiting service, which were regularly forwarded to Massachusetts. What resolutions that State have taken in consequence, I am unacquainted with, not having been favored with a line from Governor Hancock since the transmission of the Resolves of Congress.

By the doings of Congress, you will see that the States are to point out the rendezvous at which the recruits are to be collected, and that mustering officers from the army are to be sent to muster, receive, and forward them. I cannot think that General Lincoln has made any omission in any part of so important a service; but, lest any mistake may have happened, I think it will be very well for you to write to Colonel Badlam, and give every instruction that may be needful to complete the business. The recruiting service is a point of too great importance to suffer any delay, or to be obstructed by any impediment in our power to remove.

If Captain Bannister is not retained by a mustering officer, I think it will be well to order him to join his regiment.

The powder may be removed, under direction of Colonel Crane, as soon as possible.

With much regard and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH,
Robinson's House.

HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH,
April 22, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — I have occasion immediately for the sentiments of the general officers on the question mentioned in a former letter; viz., what are to be considered the subordinate Posts or Dependencies of West Point.

Respecting the salted provisions, of which you inclosed me a survey in your letter of the 20th, I have to observe, it should be demanded immediately of the contractors what proportion of it they will receive from the public. That which is fit for use should be issued before it is spoiled by the approaching warm weather. If there is any remaining so tainted as to be improper to be issued, and yet such as may be applied to some other purposes, it should be disposed of in such manner as will be most beneficial to the public. That which has become nauseous, and is too bad for any use, should be buried instantly.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. Mr. Elias Hosbrook complains that, after the army left the White Plains last campaign, the guard under Captain Pray took a large quantity of cider belonging to him, from Tarrytown, which they refused to deliver to the owner. I wish the matter may be investigated, and justice done in the case, upon his application to you.

To Major-General Heath, Robinson's House.

Headquarters, Newburgh,
30th April, 1782.

Dear Sir, — Your two favors of yesterday, with their inclosures, were duly delivered to me.

I do not think any considerable alteration need be made respecting the outposts. I approve your holding the troops you mention in readiness to support them, but it would not be eligible to advance any more artillery at present. The detachments, or the lines, are to be extremely vigilant.

I have written to Mr. Sands to furnish the reserves, agreeably to your requisition of the 6th of February last, and have no doubt of his compliance.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G°. Washington.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Newburgh,
May 8, 1782.

Dear Sir, — Your despatches of yesterday have been handed to me.

I am astonished to hear the recruits which have arrived from Massachusetts are so very improper for service, after all the precautions and pains that have been taken to avoid a repetition of such horrid impositions on the public. Unless there are some circumstances that I am unacquainted with and cannot conceive of, I think the officer who mustered them ought to be instantly relieved, ordered to camp, and arrested upon his arrival. The two French deserters should be sent back, if there is an opportunity; if not, they may be confined until they can be returned, or delivered over to some of the commanders of his most Christian Majesty. I wish to know what arrangements you have lately made respecting the recruit-

ing service in Massachusetts, and that you would give any additional orders you may think necessary.

An order was issued yesterday that artificers, while actually at work, and Captain Pray's water-guard, should be supplied with a ration and a half per day. I cannot conceive there is any necessity for extending the order to my own bargemen, or any common watermen on the river.

The matters in dispute respecting the contract are under consideration. Most of the difficulties as to the mode of issues complained of since the 1st of May appear to result from the contract itself. Though it were much to be wished, I do not very well see how the commissaries under the contractor are to be prevented from becoming acquainted with the strength of the troops to which they issue. They will at least know very nearly the efficient force, by the number of rations delivered.

Your regulation concerning the small-pox is perfectly satisfactory.

There is no mode pointed out for returning invalids, who have recovered, to their former corps; but I will advise with the Inspector upon it.

I would not have the new arms broken in upon, so long as there are old ones in the store fit for use. When there are not, new ones must be drawn for the recruits; but those out of repair are by no means to be exchanged for new arms.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

G^o. WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH,
May 10, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — I have inclosed to your care letters for Colonel Canfield and Major Woodbridge (the latter under a flying seal), forbidding flags of truce to be sent or received, except by way of Dobbs's Ferry. Similar instruc-

tions are given to the commanding officer in [*torn*], and you will perceive that the same prohibition is announced to the army in the orders of this day.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH,
May 13, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — In reply to your favors of the 8th, 10th, and 11th, I have to observe that Mr. Parker ought to be transferred; that the subject mentioned in your private letter of the 10th should excite particular vigilance on the part of the officers; that Lieutenant-Colonel Badlam should be relieved; that as General Glover (an extract from whose letter I inclose) has, at the request of the General Court, appointed mustering officers, the necessity of sending others to the different places of rendezvous will be superseded, unless you think you can send on more suitable characters, in which case you are at full liberty to do it; that it will be certainly best to send on the sergeants you propose to conduct the levies, and also the subalterns, upon condition they will go at their own choice and expense, or that the State will support them: for, Congress having resolved that the recruits shall be brought on at the expense of the States to which they belong, no money can be allowed by the public for the purpose. I wish you to consider yourself authorized to take any further measures in this business you may deem expedient. I approve your sending the French deserters to the Consul at Philadelphia.

As soon as the season will possibly allow it with safety, the first Massachusetts brigade may go into tents.

I am making regulations respecting the commutation of rum or whiskey, which will be published in orders.

By the order of the 30th ult., all troops except those

composing the garrison of West Point, or actually stationed at the enumerated posts dependent thereon, were meant to be comprehended under the general idea of the moving army; and consequently the Connecticut line, third Massachusetts brigade, and tenth regiment were to be supplied under the contract for the moving army. I did not suppose the contractors for West Point were compellable to supply any troops except those at the abovementioned posts, without their own particular concurrence, after the other contract took place, although I was sensible there would be a discrimination in the issue.

I am, with great esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. I am favored with yours of this day. The deserter from the York line is sent back to the provost of West Point.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, 18th May, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your two favors of the 16th, and this day. In reply to the postscript of the first, I can only say that the report of the commissioners who met at Elizabethtown has been sent on to Congress, with a submission to them how far exchanges in future shall be practised. However desirable all exchanges may be, nothing can be done until I am furnished with the determination of Congress to govern my future conduct in this matter.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. Colonel Swift may be absent, as requested.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Newburgh,
May 26, 1782.

Dear Sir, — I have received your letter of the 25th, containing the despatches from Sir Guy Carleton, and the other papers mentioned therein. I return those belonging to the British officers on parole at Dobbs's Ferry, who may be permitted to go into the enemy's lines. In future, you will be pleased, in the first instance, to grant flags to all such persons as shall have passports for the purpose from Congress, the Secretary at War, or the Executive of any of the States; all other applications are to be referred to me.

Colonel Putnam may send a sergeant to Massachusetts, as requested; but his expense is not to be defrayed by the public.

Mr. Aaron Olmsted (who goes down the river by this conveyance) has permission to proceed with a flag to the enemy's lines, to inquire for and obtain the release of his brother, who is on board a prison-ship at New York. It rests with the enemy to suffer him to go in or not.

Yours of this day, with the German deserter, have just arrived.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

G.º Washington.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath,
Highlands.

Headquarters, Newburgh,
28th May, 1782.

Dear Sir, — In addition to the instructions I gave in my letter of the 26th, respecting flags, I think necessary to observe that no persons ought to be permitted to pass or repass under cover of flags, except those whose names are properly inserted, as it is reported that some

people, having availed themselves of such opportunities, have formerly come into Jersey without any legal permission.

By the contract for the moving army, all stores and other apparatus made use of by our issuing commissaries were to be furnished to the contractors, they being responsible that the public property shall not be wasted or destroyed.

I am taking every possible measure for replenishing our magazines.

Mr. Sands, I know, is very much occupied, at present, in making preparations for the celebration of the birth of the Dauphin. I hope, as soon as that is over, he will settle with you the commutation of articles to your satisfaction. If he will not do it agreeably to the principles of the contract, I beg you to inform me of it, and believe that

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. Your letter of the 23d, respecting forage consumed in the county of West Chester, shall be attended to, as soon as I can get leisure for the purpose.

As a further regulation of flags, I wish the following may be adhered to, and considered as a standing order: —

No person coming from the enemy's lines with a flag is to be permitted to come within our lines, or proceed into the country, without having first obtained permission in writing for the purpose from the Executive of the State to which he or she wishes to go. No persons coming from the enemy on business of a military nature are to be suffered to advance within the outposts, unless liberty shall be first obtained from the general commanding the army at the time.

To Major-General Heath, Highlands.

Headquarters, 2d June, 1782.

Sir, — I have to reply to your three favors of the 29th May and 1st instant.

The private soldiers paroled by Sir Guy Carleton must be ordered to join and do duty in their regiments. I have given directions to our commissary of prisoners to inform the British commissary that such will be my orders in all such cases, and that they will be credited to their account.

Captain Pray is directed to send in the officers' servants, and measures will be taken to direct those matters in future. A deputy commissary of prisoners will reside in the neighborhood of Dobbs's.

The soldier Gilbert may be accepted to join his regiment.

The Judge Advocate's resignation is inclosed to the Secretary at War, to be laid before Congress; and I have desired that a new appointment may be made as soon as possible.

One regiment of the second brigade of Massachusetts will be ordered to encamp.

I am, with regard and esteem, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Newburgh, June 5, 1782.

Dear Sir, — Your favor of yesterday has been duly received. A deputy commissary of prisoners for the post at Dobbs's Ferry has been already ordered, who will, I hope, liberate you from those constant applications from that part; and, as Captain Pray's duty must be increased at that post, I wish you to grant him what additional boats and men you may think necessary.

I must depend upon your constant attention to the

recruiting service of Massachusetts, and highly approve your sending Lieutenant-Colonel Popkin to relieve Major Pettingill, at Boston; and let Colonel Popkin be informed that I wish him to write to the several mustering officers in that State that I expect their constant attention to their duty, and that they may depend on being brought to a court-martial for any deficiencies.

Mr. Gardner may pass to the enemy's lines with the prisoners he has with him.

The recruits that have been mustered out by the Baron must remain where they are for the present.

I am, dear sir, your most humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH,
Highlands.

HEADQUARTERS, 6th June, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — I have received yours of yesterday. I am sorry to hear that desertion still prevails. To render this practice less frequent, I wish you would order the officers commanding at the different rendezvous in Massachusetts to give directions to those officers who are charged with the conducting of the recruits to camp, in case of desertion on the march, to return to them immediately descriptive lists of the deserters, that they may take measures for their apprehension.

It gives me much pain to hear that the distresses of the army, from the want of provisions, yet continue, although I have done every thing in my power to prevent them. I am just informed by Colonel Stewart that beef has arrived, which will afford you relief for the present; and I hope that in future you will not experience any want of that article.

I have the honor to be, dear General,

With great esteem, your most humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, 17th June, 1782.

Dear Sir, — I have to reply to your three favors of the 15th.

A copy of your application in favor of Colonel Greaton's appointment to be a brigadier is submitted to the consideration of the Secretary at War, with my approbation; and the promotion will probably take place.

The commanding officer of the post at Dobbs's Ferry should undoubtedly be furnished with a public horse, for the purpose of sending by land such despatches as he may have occasion to convey in that manner. You will please to give order for the purpose.

I had written thus far, when your letter of the 17th arrived. I know nothing more respecting the forage used by the French army in this State than I did when you wrote me upon that subject. I now return you the letter of General Beville, with this observation, that I do not recollect any thing more than a cursory conversation with General Rochambeau on that head. Nothing determinate respecting pay for it was ever said, that I remember. The idea, when we arrived on that ground, was not, that I know, entertained by any one. But the orders of Congress must be attended to. If the arbitrators are driven to a decision under present circumstances, they must make the best estimates they can. I have no directions to give. I don't at present see any thing to prevent Colonel Hull's attendance on the arbitration. If any danger or inconvenience should be observed, it may be remedied on its appearance.

Lieutenant Frye must remain in his present situation until some determination can be made respecting him. His case will be laid before the Secretary at War.

I am, with regard and esteem, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

P. S. If General Beville's letter is communicated to the arbitrators, I beg you will let my observations upon it be laid before them also.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, June 22, 1782.

Dear Sir, — As the referees, who are to settle the disputes between the army and Mr. Sands & Co., will sit for that purpose in a few days, it will be necessary for the gentlemen of the army to appoint some person to attend in their name to conduct the business. I wish you, therefore, to make it known to the army under your command that such person may be appointed, and that he properly prepare the necessary papers in defence of the charges, against the meeting of the referees.

The time and place of their meeting will be notified to you.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

G° Washington.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath,
Robinson's House.

Headquarters, Newburgh,
June 22, 1782.

Dear Sir, — By the Order of this day, you will see the army is to go into tents as soon as conveniently may be. The ground of encampment for the different corps ought to be as contiguous to their present cantonments as the nature of the ground will admit.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath, Robinson's House,
Highlands.

Headquarters, Newburgh,
June 22, 1782.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favors of yesterday and of this date by Major Lyman. I can have no objection to the assembling of the officers of the Massachusetts Line for their obtaining, in a decent manner, the regular settlement of their just dues, but am very sorry there should be any occasion for such proceedings. I supposed that Congress had passed Resolutions directing the several States, or Mr. Morris, to adjust all the accounts of the army up to the year 1782, and believe I mentioned that circumstance in a letter to you last winter, and had no doubt but a settlement had taken place accordingly.

It is very indifferent with me what court Colonel Badlam is tried by, so long as the truth of his proceedings are made known. I shall therefore leave it at your discretion.

I am, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

G° Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Newburgh, June 22, 1782.

Dear Sir, — In answer to your private letter of the 19th, I have to observe that it was not my intention, by the order of the 4th of April, to call in question or to deprive you of any part of the command which was confirmed in the subsequent one of the 9th inst.

The order of the 9th (last mentioned) did not proceed from any doubt in *my* mind of the meaning of the first, but because different interpretations were put on it by *others*, — because confusion and disorder was about to ensue, — and because I had *understood* from the Adjutant-General that you yourself required an explanation of it to the army, to prevent those evils which were resulting from misconception. Had I known that Captain Williams

was in arrest, and to be tried on the merits of that order, I certainly should not, at the time I did, have issued the explanatory one of the 9th, which was in some measure prejudging for the court, as it was upon the construction of the order of the 4th of April that the matter ultimately would rest.

As you are pleased to ask my opinion on the propriety of dropping or prosecuting the point in dispute, I shall give it in favor of the latter, because I have too good an opinion of Colonel Putnam's sense and knowledge of discipline to suppose he would have forbid the brigade major, Williams, to comply with your order (thereby incurring responsibility), unless he had conceived himself justified under the order of the 4th of April.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

POUGHKEEPSIE, June 24, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — Mr. Benson, the attorney-general of this State, who was appointed by me, and Mr. Melancthon Smith, who was nominated by Mr. Sands, have undertaken, as referees, to settle the matters in dispute between the army and the contractors for furnishing the garrison of West Point, &c. These two gentlemen are to name a third, agreeably to the mode pointed out by the contract, and are to meet on the 8th day of July next for the completion of that business.

This information is given, that preparation may be made accordingly.

I am, dear sir, with great esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Newburgh,
July 7, 1782.

Dear Sir, — Mr. Benson and Mr. Smith have nominated Judge Hobart as a third person to determine with them the disputes between the army and the contractors. The gentlemen will attend to the business on Wednesday next, and wish it may be accomplished at Poughkeepsie, as that place will be much more convenient to them than any other; but, if it should appear necessary that a large number of witnesses must attend from the army, they will forego their own convenience, for the sake of accommodating those concerned by meeting at Fishkill. As this is a matter of delicacy on their part, I could wish the gentlemen who have undertaken to settle the disputes may not be put to more trouble than is absolutely necessary.

I am, dear sir, your very humble servant,

G° Washington.

P. S. It will be proper for a gentleman from the army to go to Poughkeepsie on Wednesday next, where the referees will assemble that day, in order to fix upon the place and mode of proceedings.

G. W.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, 11th July, 1782.

Sir, — The Resolve of Congress relative to the forage belonging to the State, which was used by the army during the last campaign, was particularly addressed to you; and, as that matter has hitherto been wholly under your direction, I return you the report of the arbitrators, and request you to bring this matter to a conclusion, agreeably to the instructions that have been given.

I also return the report of the board which sat to inquire into the reasons of the absence of sundry officers. You will please to take the necessary steps therein.

With respect to General Glover, he has sent on the necessary certificates of his incapacity to take the field on account of his health, and that matter is now before Congress.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. The inclosed, to Lieutenant-General Lossberg, you will be kind enough to forward by the first opportunity.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, July 11, 1782.*

DEAR SIR, — I have this moment received a letter from Count de Rochambeau (by one of his aids, in five days from Williamsburg), informing me that he is on his way to Philadelphia, that he will be there the 13th or 14th, and wishes for an interview with me. For this purpose, I shall set out in the morning very early, and have only to request your usual attention.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. I entreat that great diligence may be used in manœuvring the troops.

If General Carleton should, in my absence, send out the proceedings of the court-martial in the case of Lippincot, let them be forwarded to headquarters, that they may follow me. Accompany them with your own and the opinion of the general officers whom you can readily consult, as my measures must be taken so soon as these proceedings come to my hands; and my stay in Philadelphia, for aught I know at present, will be very short.

Yours, as before,

G. W–N.

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* The letter of this date has been printed in the Life of General Heath, p. 349, but not the postscript. — EDS.

To the Hon. Major-General Heath,
Robinson's House, Highlands.

Headquarters, Newburgh,
July 31, 1782.

Dear Sir, — Being very confident of your attention to the several objects intrusted to your care during my absence, in reply to your favor of the 28th, I have only to observe that I think it but reasonable that the officers who have been prevented, by their attendance on the court-martial for the trial of Major-General McDougall, from visiting their families, should be indulged with leave of absence for a short time; and that it is also expedient an officer should be sent after the deserters you mention, whose absolute necessary expenses will be defrayed by the public, in order to which an exact account must be kept of his expenses, accompanied with the necessary vouchers and receipts.

I approve of the order for furnishing hunting-shirts to the light infantry companies on the lines. The remaining companies can draw as soon as they please. The transportation of the remainder of the summer clothing was urged in the strongest possible manner when I was in Philadelphia; but that almost insuperable bar in all our affairs has hitherto prevented it; yet I cannot but hope the frocks will now be on speedily.

As to the clothing, &c., lost by fire in the second Massachusetts regiment, let a report and return be made by the commanding officer, and such measures will be taken as the nature of the case shall appear to justify.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

By his Excellency George Washington, Esquire, General and Commander in Chief of the Forces of the United States of America.

To Major-General Heath.

Sir, — His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton having requested a passport for Chief Justice Smith, to repair to the headquarters of the American army, in order to lay before me the proceedings of a court-martial on the trial of Captain Lippincot for the murder of Captain Huddy, with other documents and explanations which, *he says*, "he has no doubt will give full satisfaction," —

I do therefore, from an earnest desire to proceed with candor and deliberate justice, appoint you to meet an officer of equal rank at the house of Colonel Phillips on Monday the 5th instant, or at any other time and place which you may think more convenient, for the purpose of receiving the proceedings and documents above mentioned, with such explanation, *in writing*, as he may think proper to communicate. The papers you shall receive you will transmit to me as soon as your business is concluded, together with a report of your proceedings therein.

Given at Headquarters, this third day of August, 1782.

Gº. Washington.

By his Excellency's command.

To Major-General Heath.

Sir, — Having desired you to meet an officer from Sir Guy Carleton, for the purpose mentioned in your appointment and authority, you will proceed to execute said business, in the course of which you may inform the officer you meet that, as I have no connection with or control over any person in the line in which Mr. Smith walks; as the question before us is, in my opinion, purely of a military nature, and reducible to this single

point, whether the perpetrator of the wanton and cruel murder of Huddy is to be given up, or a British officer to suffer in his place, — that I could see no propriety or necessity in an interview with the chief justice.

If you should find that the design of Sir Guy Carleton is to procrastinate this business, to envelop it in as much intricacy and difficulty as possible, and that he means to justify it by recrimination and law cases, thereby attempting to avert our purposes of retaliation, you may assure him (unless you shall judge it expedient to leave me more at liberty), if not explicitly, at least by strong insinuation, that he will miss his aim; and that my deliberate and dispassionate proceedings in this case are intended to give him, as he now has had, full time to determine whether the guilty person, or an innocent officer, shall be made the subject of retaliation.

You will be particularly cautious that whatever passes in the conference you are to have, which is to be considered as official, be committed to writing, that no omissions or misconceptions may be plead hereafter; and you will inform the officer in explicit terms, if you find the matter is not likely to end as justice dictates and we could wish, that all oral conversation will be excluded from the official report of these proceedings now, or any share in the account of them hereafter, or the recital of them will be considered as unfair, and an evident departure from that line of rectitude which we have wished to pursue, for an unbiassed world to judge by.

If, notwithstanding my letter to Sir Guy Carleton, requesting his appointment of an officer of your rank to meet you on this business, he should send Mr. Chief Justice Smith, you may, at your discretion, either receive the proceedings of the Court, and such other documents as he is merely the bearer of, without going into any explanation with this gentleman, or refuse the whole, as the circumstances of the moment shall dictate to you. Or, if

this gentleman should be an attendant on the officer aforementioned, you may refuse to admit him at your conference. In the first case, you may either return, with the proceedings, &c., or you may write Sir Guy Carleton that you will wait a given time for an officer, agreeable to the purport of my letter to him of the 30th of last month.

Given at Headquarters, Newburgh,
Aug. 3, 1782.

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, 3d Aug., 1782.

DEAR SIR, — By the contents of Sir Guy Carleton's letter, which came inclosed in yours of this day, I find it is unnecessary for you to proceed to Phillips's house. Sir Guy being disappointed in not obtaining passports for Mr. Chief Justice Smith to come out, he will not, he says, trouble an officer of your rank to be the bearer of a bundle of papers only, but adds that they shall be sent out in the ordinary course of conve[yance. Your] letter to Colonel Trumbull, covering the new-adopted system of issues, &c., is received.

With much regard, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, Aug. 7, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of yesterday has been duly received. I think it proper that the trial of Major Keith should commence as soon as possible. The affair of the cartridge-boxes, together with the appointment of a conductor to the third Massachusetts brigade, have been referred to General Knox.

If Captain Dorence is unfit for the duty of the field, it would be best for him to relieve Captain Benton at the

hospitals, as I know of no stationary command he can be appointed to. However, if it is very disagreeable to Captain Dorence, I wish you to conduct as you think best.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, Aug. 8, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — I have been favored with your letter of this date. It is my opinion that Major Porter be brought to a court-martial immediately, as I have no idea of an officer being absent, in the manner he has, without being made a public example of. Whatever shoes are wanted for the use of the men, over the number assigned them, may be drawn for and charged to their respective accounts.

I am much obliged by your mentioning the state of the roads between Robinson's farm and Peekskill, and I wish you to order immediate repairs to them, as they will be used in the course of a few days. The sergeants you mention for the use of the rendezvous at Springfield may be detached, whenever you think necessary.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, 18th Aug., 1782.

DEAR SIR, — After I have seen the troops manœuvred upon the Point to-morrow morning, I shall go down to Peekskill to look at the ground in that neighborhood. You will be pleased to order a company of light infantry to march to Peekskill to-morrow morning by break of day, and there wait my orders. They must go provided with two days' provision.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, 22d Aug., 1782.

Dear Sir, — I have received your favor of yesterday, and return you Major Ashley's letter, with Daking's papers.

You will direct Major Ashley to order the flag with Mr. Dorking to return immediately to the enemy's lines.

As this is the second instance in which General Birch has contravened my intentions, by granting flags to come from the enemy's lines by other routes than that of Dobbs's Ferry, you will be pleased to write to that gentleman, and inform him, that if any other flags are sent out by any other way than the established post of Dobbs's Ferry, they will be positively detained as prisoners.

The inclosed letter you will please to send to Dobbs's Ferry, to be forwarded to New York.

With much regard, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient,

Gº. Washington.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, 25th Aug., 1782.

Dear Sir, — I do myself the pleasure to inform you that Major-General McDougall, by a letter of the 23d instant, has declined the prosecution of the charges which he meant to exhibit against you. His reasons are that the points of military duty in dispute between you will have been decided by his court-martial; and that an altercation between officers of your rank might have an ill aspect in the eyes of our allies, who are upon their march to join us.

Matters being thus circumstanced, the reasons upon which I objected to your visiting your family no longer exist; and, as I think there is little probability of any

active service in the field, you are at liberty, if it be agreeable to yourself, to go to Boston.

I am, with esteem, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

NEWBURGH, 28th April, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your several favors of yesterday.

I beg you to close the matter of damaged provisions with Messrs. Sands. They will doubtless take them at what they may be worth, and pass them to the credit of the United States.

I am very sorry the recruiting service in your State wears no better an aspect. Lieutenant Robinson may remain at present as an assistant to the mustering service. If any number of recruits should be collected at the different rendezvous, Colonel Badlam, I fancy, must yet want additional assistance.

With regard and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, 29th Aug., 1782.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your letter of this day, accompanied with one from Colonel Canfield at Stamford, informing the detention of Mr. Corne and others as prisoners.

I am pleased with the conduct of Colonel Canfield, and his attention to his duty; and as it seems there is no other way to reduce General Birch to an observance of the convention respecting the place where flags are to be received, than by the detention of such as shall come in any other way than by the post of Dobbs's Ferry, you

will be pleased to order the persons sent to you by Colonel Canfield to be kept as close prisoners until further orders can be taken respecting them.

With much regard, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, 29th Aug., 1782.

DEAR SIR, — Although I must confess that it appears to me rather surprising to have a request for so many gentlemen, and of such rank, to be absent from their commands at this time of the campaign, on business to their State, yet, as it is the particular desire of the officers of the line, I give my permission as requested, for all the gentlemen except Major-General Knox, who cannot, by any means, be spared from the command which is given him; and, besides that, I have an expectation of employing him soon on another very important business, which cannot be dispensed with.

The surgeon mentioned may have permission to go to Philadelphia, agreeable to request.

With esteem and regard, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH,
Dec. 17, 1782.

DEAR SIR, — It was not until the arrival of the last eastern mail that I was favored with your letter of the 29th November. Of the prisoners you mention to have returned from Canada, not more than five have come on to camp; nor do I know what has become of the remainder of them. I wish (if it can possibly be avoided) they may not be lost to the public.

The report of the relief of Gibraltar has proved but too true, as it is confirmed by a late arrival from Cadiz at Philadelphia. What effect this event will have in accelerating or retarding a general pacification, time alone must determine. By a recent account from Mr. Harrison, our commercial agent at Cadiz, it appears that M. de la Perrouse, of the "Sceptre," had, with that ship and two frigates, returned from a successful enterprise against the enemy's possessions in Hudson's Bay, having entirely destroyed the establishment and property of the English on that coast, estimating the damage at ten millions of livres.

The preparations for the derangement of the Massachusetts and Connecticut lines go on as well as I expected. No promotions have yet been made by Congress; nor have we any intelligence of importance from any quarter.

I am, dear sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH,
Jan. 3, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — I have been favored with your letters of the 18th and 25th ult., the former enclosing Captain Bannister's application to you, the latter giving advice of the departure of the French fleet.

I approve of your appointing Captain Day to succeed Captain Bannister in the duty of receiving, mustering, and forwarding recruits from Springfield. As you have been particularly acquainted with the mode of conducting this business, I have only to request, if you think any thing farther necessary in addition to the orders already given, that you will take the trouble of communicating instructions accordingly.

It gives me infinite pleasure to learn our allies departed from the Continent under such favorable impressions. I

doubt much whether there ever was an instance before, where the troops of two nations, which had served together in the field, have parted with such sentiments of sincere affection and mutual regret.

By the latest accounts from Europe, it appears a treaty of amity and commerce between the Dutch and the United States was entirely agreed upon and settled, and that copies are making out for signature. The commissioners were still at Paris; and, notwithstanding Mr. Oswald has received a commission investing him with ample powers for negotiation with the United States, yet appearances were so equivocal that the best informed were much at a loss whether we must expect peace or war.

With sentiments of esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, Jan. 15, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 1st instant.

Congress have been pleased to promote Colonels Greaton, Dayton, and Putnam to the rank of brigadiers, by their Act of the 7th of this month.

Although we have no official accounts of the evacuation of Charlestown, yet the certainty of that event is placed beyond dispute by the publications in New York, at which place General Leslie and part of the garrison have arrived. The remainder have gone to the West Indies.

Should the king of Great Britain's speech to his parliament or any European advices of consequence arrive sooner at the eastward than in any other quarter, I shall be much obliged to you for forwarding the same to me as early as conveniently may be.

I am, dear sir, with sentiments of esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. Notwithstanding the pointed applications which have been made to General Glover, to return the soldiers he took from the army as servants, or replace them with others, I find it has not yet been done. I beg you will inform him, unless the requisition is immediately complied with, I shall think myself under the necessity of representing the matter to Congress.

To Major-General Heath.

Headquarters, Newburgh,
Feb. 5, 1783.

Dear Sir, — A few days since, I received your favor of the 25th of January. There is such an absolute dearth of news here that I cannot undertake to give you a single syllable in return for what you was so good as to send me.

Without amusement or avocation, I am spending another winter (I hope it will be the last that I shall be kept from returning to domestic life) amongst these rugged and dreary mountains. I have, however, the satisfaction of seeing the troops better covered, better clothed, and better fed than they have ever been in any former winter quarters; and this circumstance alone would make any situation tolerable to me. In a little time, I hope to turn their duty into an amusement, by awakening again the spirit of emulation and love of military parade and glory, which was so conspicuous the last campaign. I shall (as soon as the weather will permit in the spring) expect to see the general officers daily on horseback, at the head of their commands, teaching them by precept and example every thing that is reputable and glorious in the possession of arms. Let me hint in season, I presume you will not choose to be absent, or second in exertion on these occasions to any of your brother officers.

In the mean time, I shall strive to while away this season in laying a foundation for those things. To-morrow

being the anniversary of the alliance with France, we shall have a military exhibition. There will be a review and *feu de joie*, and afterwards a cold collation at the new public building.

With great regard, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH,
Feb. 22, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — A few days ago General Lincoln delivered me your favor of the 7th, respecting the enemy's force at Penobscot, and the apprehension of the inhabitants of the eastern part of your State in consequence of the menacing appearances in that quarter. At the same time, I received a letter from the two houses of your Legislature on the same subject.

After conversing pretty fully with the Secretary at War and Mr. Higginson, I have written to the Honorable the Senate and Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to the following purport: That in the present equivocal state of affairs it was impossible for me to give a decisive answer to their propositions; that peace on the one hand, or an attempt against New York on the other, might render any proceedings on this business unnecessary or inexpedient; that the subject of our future military operations is now before Congress; that (if the war should be prolonged) *offensive* or *defensive* measures would depend on their decision; that in the former case I should be happy to afford every aid in my power to gratify the wishes of the State, so far as could be done consistently with a due attention to the comparative magnitude of the several objects that might be in view, although I could not conceive an enterprise ought to be undertaken in that quarter, without a naval force superior

to the enemy's; and that in the latter case, viz., if *defensive* measures only should be adopted, the protection of the eastern frontier of the State would engage my particular attention. This was all I judged it expedient to say under the present circumstances.

Amongst the rumors and speculations on peace (which are almost infinite), there is nothing that may absolutely be relied upon. And notwithstanding the prospect is so flattering, yet as no mortal can tell whether we shall have peace or war, it is undoubtedly the part of discretion to be prepared for the latter, so far as depends on our own exertions. I have therefore called very earnestly on the general officers to assist in putting the army in the best possible condition for activity of service; but, as you will have learnt my sentiments on this matter from the transcript of an order which has been forwarded to you officially by the Adjutant-General, I have only to inquire when I may actually expect the pleasure of seeing you at the army, and to assure you that

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

To the Hon. MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH,
Boston.

HEADQUARTERS, 6th March, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — It is represented to me that Captain Day, of the seventh Massachusetts regiment, is now not only able to attend his duty in camp, but that his long absence is considered in an unfavorable point of light by the inhabitants in the part of the country where he resides.

As you will remember the appointment of Captain Day to superintend and muster the recruits at Springfield was made in consequence of his being supposed unfit for any duty with the army, I must request you to take the trouble to examine into the state of facts; and, if you shall find he is capable of service, that you will order him

to be relieved and join his corps immediately, unless you shall judge it is unnecessary to continue an officer much longer at the post of Springfield to receive recruits, — in which case it would hardly be worth the trouble of relieving him; and you will please, therefore, to give directions for him to repair to the army at some fixed time, which should be as early as you think he can be dispensed with from the mustering service.

I am, with great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. The seal of this was broken to acknowledge the receipt of yours of 22d February, just now come to hand. Colonel Vose will give you all the intelligence we have.

To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH,
May 15, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — Having occasion to go to Poughkeepsie for the purpose of transacting some business with his Excellency Governor Clinton, I shall set off for that place this morning, and shall not probably return until to-morrow evening. I give you this information, that you may, during my absence, take upon yourself the superintendence of the army.

With great regard and esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

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*To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

NEW YORK, Sept. 5, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — As every thing in a manner depends upon obtaining intelligence of the enemy's motions, I do

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* This letter has been kindly furnished by Amory A. Lawrence, Esq., for publication in this volume. — EDS.

most earnestly entreat you and General Clinton to exert yourselves to accomplish this most desirable end. Leave no stone unturned, nor do not stick at expense to bring this to pass, as I never was more uneasy than on account of my want of knowledge on this score.

Keep, besides this precaution, constant lookouts (with good glasses) on some commanding heights that look well on to the other shore (and especially into the bays, where boats can be concealed), that they may observe, more particularly in the evening, if there be any uncommon movements. Much will depend upon early intelligence, and meeting the enemy before they can intrench. I should much approve of small harassing parties, stealing, as it were, over in the night, as they might keep the enemy alarmed, and more than probably bring off a prisoner, from whom some valuable intelligence may be obtained.

Your command lays in the two brigades of Mifflin and Clinton, from whom let me have, and without delay, exact returns. As far as you find it convenient to advance any of those men, so far your authority extends.

Let me entreat your particular attention to the stores, &c., sent up to the posts above.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

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* To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

MORRISTOWN, Jan. 9, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you lately, since which the enemy appear to be drawing their whole force to Brunswick, whether with design to move towards Philadelphia, attack us, or secure themselves from the inconveniences of detached bodies, I know not; but, as many valuable purposes may, I think, be answered by your moving towards New York, I wish that no time may be lost in doing it.

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* This letter has been kindly furnished by Rev. William Lawrence, for publication in this volume. — EDS.

I have good reasons to believe that there are very few men left in the city of York, or upon the Island: consequently, a force marched that way may possess themselves of the city, or occasion a reinforcement to be thrown in there, which in either case cannot fail of advancing our cause.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

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* To MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH.

HEADQUARTERS, 27th July, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I have successively received your several favors of the 12th, 16th, and two of the 21st.

What you have done with respect to the deserters from Colonel Greene's regiment is conformable to my views. A pardon may be extended to all other deserters in your quarter; and, to give it the more efficacy, I shall, as soon as I have time, send you a proclamation to this purpose.

I have taken measures, as to the cruisers from Delaware, for advertising the second division of the present position of the enemy's fleet, and their seeming intentions. Under the appearances of the enemy, it was very proper to stop the march of Colonel Greene's regiment.

I am, dear sir, your obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

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* This letter was misplaced, and is printed out of its chronological order. — EDS.

PART II.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

JOHN ADAMS AND PROF. JOHN WINTHROP.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

JOHN ADAMS AND PROF. JOHN WINTHROP.

At a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held on the 9th of April, 1874, as recorded in the volume of its printed Proceedings including that year, page 263, the President announced the reception of certain papers from Colonel John Winthrop, together with a letter expressing his wish to place them on permanent deposit in the Society's Archives, with authority to make such use of them in publication as they might see fit. The Society accepted the trust, with thanks; and the papers have since remained deposited among their most valuable records.

Upon an examination of this deposit, it appeared that one portion consists of a correspondence of ten letters, between that learned professor and earnest patriot, John Winthrop of Cambridge, and John Adams, then serving at Philadelphia as a delegate from Massachusetts to the second meeting of the Congress assembled there. Four of these were letters written by the Professor, and six by Mr. Adams, during a period of seventeen months, beginning at the end of May, 1775, and ending in September of the next year. It happens that, in conducting his part of the correspondence, Professor Winthrop made use of those portions of the letters he received from Mr. Adams that remained in blank, to inscribe on them copies of his own. The spaces left were so small, that he had recourse to a method of abbreviation, generally difficult, and at times impossible, to decipher. They must have remained partially unintelligible for ever, but for the fact that his original letters were, with a single exception, found among the papers left by his correspondent. Under these circumstances, it has been deemed most prudent to avail at once of the opportunity, now offered by their possessor, of furnishing the means of securing accuracy, while the time permits.

On the other hand, it may be considered that out of the six original letters from Mr. Adams which were preserved by Professor Winthrop, and now in the hands of the Society, no copies of the two earliest in date are to be found recorded in any books left by the writer himself.

For these reasons, it has been deemed advisable to devote a few pages of the present volume to the purpose of securing this correspondence from any further danger of error.

CORRESPONDENCE.

JOHN ADAMS TO PROFESSOR JOHN WINTHROP.

PHILADELPHIA, May 29, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — The bearers of this are two young gentlemen from Maryland, Aquilla Hall and Josias Carvill Hall, both of one of the best families in Maryland, and both of independent fortunes. Their errand to Cambridge is to join our army, as volunteers, against the enemies of their country, in order to gain experience in the art of war, in which they have already made good proficiency.

As it is of importance that they should be treated with politeness and respect, I have taken the freedom to give them this letter, and to beg the favor of you to show them Harvard College.

The Congress, sir, have great objects before them, indeed. All is secret but what you will see in the newspapers. If the Ministry, upon receiving intelligence of the battle of Lexington, don't recede, all ceremony will be over. At present we shall be fully united, and, I hope, shall do well. My respectful compliments to all friends. News of every kind will be told you by the bearers.

Your humble servant, JOHN ADAMS.

We suffer excessively for want of letters and intelligence from Cambridge. I must beg you would do me the honor to write me, and desire all our friends to do the same. J A.

[Address]:
To the Honorable JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., LL.D., Cambridge.

[Indorsed]: Mr. ADAMS, 29 May, 1775.

JOHN WINTHROP TO JOHN ADAMS.

June 21, 1775.

Dear Sir, — I received your favor of the 29th May, by Messrs. Halls. I was much concerned that I had it not in my power to treat those young gentlemen with as much respect as their characters and your recommendation entitled them to. When your letter was delivered me, which was but a few days ago, we were all in the utmost hurry, packing up the library and apparatus, for their removal to a distance in the country for safety, in consequence of an order of the Provincial Congress, which was sent us that day; so that the young gentlemen could only take a transient view of things, as they lay in confusion. It was then universally expected that there would be an action in a day or two; which happened accordingly. The night following, a body of our men were sent to throw up an entrenchment on a hill in Charlestown. As soon as the daylight appeared, they were discovered, and fired upon from the men-of-war and the battery on Copp's Hill. That day (the 17th inst.) exhibited a most shocking spectacle. About two in the afternoon, a large body of regulars were carried over to Charlestown; and at four in the afternoon the men-of-wars' boats set fire to the town in different places, which in a few hours was burnt to the ground. When it was all in flames, they attacked our entrenchment, which was very imperfect, being only the work of a few hours; but they were vigorously opposed, and a hot engagement ensued, which lasted above an hour, in which numbers fell. When our soldiers had fired away almost all their cartridges, and the regulars were entering the entrenchment with their bayonets charged, and an incessant fire of artillery kept on them on all sides from the men-of-war and floating batteries, our people retreated,

and left them in possession of the hill. This advantage they probably purchased dear; though what their loss was we may never know exactly. It is affirmed their dead were seen lying in heaps on the ground. Our loss was considerable; but, being now above twenty miles from the scene of action, I cannot give you any particular information about it. We lost some very good officers; but none is more universally lamented than our friend Dr. Warren, who had been appointed a major-general but a day or two before. I own I was sorry when I heard of this appointment; because I thought a man so much better qualified to act in other capacities than most are, ought not to be exposed in this way, unless in case of necessity. But his zeal hurried him on, and he was killed in the entrenchment soon after he got there.

We are now involved in all the horrors of war, and are every moment expecting to hear of another action. Is it not necessary, sir, that our army should be effectually supported, in order to bring this cruel war to a speedy and fortunate issue; especially as there is no immediate prospect of war in any other part of America, and a vigorous support here may probably prevent its spreading to the other colonies?

I am surprised to find there is so little intelligence from home; I thought there had been a constant intercourse kept up between the Provincial and Continental Congresses. I mentioned this hint of yours to Dr. Warren, the evening before that fatal day; he promised that he would write, and put his friends on writing. But, alas! —

My respectful compliments to all friends, particularly to Colonel Hancock and Dr. Franklin. I wrote to the Doctor soon after I heard of his arrival; but know not whether he has received my letter. I want much to write to some friends in England; but there is no conveyance this way. If Dr. Franklin should be able, with safety, to keep up his correspondence with England, per-

haps he might be willing to send my letters with his. If I could know this, I would send them by the way of Philadelphia. But I own I am in great doubt whether it will be prudent or practicable. God Almighty bless your counsels, and render them effectual for the preservation of America.

Your faithful friend and humble servant.

[Not signed].

June 22.

Since writing the above, I have received two accounts from different hands of the loss on each side. I send them as I had them. I have been also told that the regulars acknowledge four hundred and twenty-eight killed.

Boston almost deserted by the inhabitants; Charlestown burnt down; Cambridge, Medford, Salem, Danvers, and Marblehead almost deserted. It is impossible at your distance to conceive of the distress.

JOHN ADAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

Philadelphia, Oct. 2, 1775.

Dear Sir, — I do myself the honor of writing you a very few lines, just for the sake of introducing to you the gentlemen who compose a committee of this Congress, who are to consult with your Honorable Board about a plan for continuing the army.

I conjecture that the reduction of the pay of the private soldiers, and the introduction of some gentlemen from other colonies into the service as officers, will be principal objects.

The pay of the privates is generally, if not universally, thought to be too high, especially in winter; but whether a reduction of it would not give such a disgust as to endanger the service, I don't know. If the war should continue, and their pay is not reduced this fall, this Congress will certainly reduce it next spring, and in a way that will perhaps be dangerous; at least, attended with many inconveniences. This way will be, by each colony furnishing its quota of men as well as money.

The other thing that is wished by many is not so reasonable. It is altogether absurd to suppose that the Council of Massachusetts should appoint gentlemen from the southern colonies, when Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire do not. But it is idle to expect it of either.

The Council, if they are men of honor, cannot appoint gentlemen whom they don't know, to command regiments or companies in their service; nor can they pay a regard to any recommendation of strangers, to the exclusion of persons whom they know. Besides, it is certain that the Massachusetts has numbers of gentlemen who have no command in the army at all, and who would now be glad to get in, who are better qualified, with knowledge both of theory and practice, than any who can be had upon the continent. They have been more in war, and longer in the study of it. Besides, can it be supposed that the private men will be easy to be commanded by strangers, to the exclusion of gentlemen whom they know, being their neighbors? It is, moreover, a reflection, and would be a disgrace upon that Province, to send abroad for commanders of their own men. It would suppose that it had not men fit for officers; than which nothing can be further from the truth. But I must desist. We have heard nothing from the committee appointed to write to us, as yet; nor from that about lead and salt.

I pray you, sir, that we may have the accounts and

vouchers sent us, that our poor suffering province may obtain a reimbursement.

I am, with great respect, &c.

[Addressed]:
The Honorable John Winthrop, Esq., LL.D., Cambridge.

Favored by Mr. Lynch.

[Indorsed]: Mr. Adams, 2 Oct., 1775.

[This letter is in the handwriting of Mr. Adams, but is without his signature.]

JOHN WINTHROP TO JOHN ADAMS.

Watertown, April, 1776.

Dear Sir, — I wrote you the 5th instant, by my son William, who was going to Philadelphia; but, as he was to stay some time at New York, being employed by Colonel Warren as paymaster, I suppose you have not yet received that letter. In it I took the liberty to request your influence that either my brother might be appointed sole clerk of the superior court; or, if it should be thought best to have two, my son might be the other.

I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of March 10, said to come by Mr. Dana. That gentleman has not yet come to Cambridge or Watertown; so that I have not had the pleasure of seeing him, which I am extremely desirous of. I hope his country will do justice to his merit, and I will do all in my power to serve him.

You must before this have heard the particulars of the reduction of Boston. On the 17th of March, the fleet and army quitted the place with the utmost precipitation. They began their embarkation about three in the morning, and were all on board before nine. I am informed by persons who were then in Boston that this was owing to two circumstances. The first was our taking possession,

about the 9th March, of the heights in Dorchester which command the town. The works were begun and completed in one night, with so much silence and secrecy that they had not the least suspicion of it. When the dawning day discovered those works, they were struck with an amazing panic. What completed their terror was, that, on the evening of the 15th, one of our barracks at Charlestown accidentally took fire, and was burnt to the ground. It made a prodigious blaze, and they took it to be a signal for the country to come in. The next day, the resolution was taken to leave the town immediately; which was executed the following night. We have no doubt but that they are gone to Halifax. Several vessels belonging to the fleet have been taken, and all the prisoners agree in this.

It is certainly of the utmost importance that the harbor of Boston should be strongly fortified. Everybody is convinced of it, and yet (strange to tell) a whole month has already slipped away, and nothing effectual been done. What is the occasion of this dilatoriness I will not pretend to say; but I believe, if General Washington had continued at the head of our army, something would have been done long before this time. There should be a person of spirit and vigor to carry on such operations; and our most active officers and best troops have been taken from us. They seem now, however, to be setting about it. The General Court has ordered a regiment to be raised for that purpose. It is said we have battering cannon enough for Fort Hill, Dorchester Hill, Noddle's Island, and the Castle; and perhaps we may get some of those which Admiral Hopkins brought from New Providence. When these works are completed, I suppose they will think of fortifying other posts in the harbor. By that time, I hope we shall have plenty of powder of our own manufacture. Saltpetre is made here in large quantities; but the encouragement for making sulphur, for which

there is plenty of materials in the country, was so small, and to be continued for so short a term, that it has produced no effect. The Board, some time ago, sent a message to the House, earnestly recommending it to their consideration; but I don't know that any thing has been done upon it. I have been told that casting cannon has been attempted at Providence, but without success. It is said the iron made of our bog-ore — and we have no other — is too hard and brittle to stand the shock of the explosion. But the mountain ore in the southern colonies is supposed to be very fit for the purpose.

Our people are impatiently waiting for the Congress to declare off from Great Britain. If they should not do it pretty soon, I am not sure but this colony will do it for themselves. Pray, how would such a step be relished by the Congress? Would they approve of it? or would they think it too precipitate? Would it endanger the breaking the union of the colonies? These are very important questions, and I shall be extremely glad to know your sentiments upon them.

We have a report here that no commissioners are coming, after all. I hope it is true. With my compliments to your worthy compatriots, I am, with great respect and esteem,

Your sincere friend and humble servant.

P. S. I hope "Common Sense" is in as high estimation at the southward as with us. It is universally admired here. If the Congress should adopt the sentiments of it, it would give the greatest satisfaction to our people.

[In the handwriting of Professor Winthrop, but not signed.]

JOHN ADAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

May 6, 1776.

Dear Sir, — Your letter by your son I have not received, but I hope to have that pleasure soon, together with that of waiting upon him here.

Your brother's right to the office you mention cannot be questioned; but whether the Court will appoint two, and who they will be, I can form no conjecture, having never had any conversation with any gentleman upon that subject. An application was indeed made to me in favor of Mr. Henshaw when I was at Watertown; but I could give no opinion concerning it. Whether I shall have any voice in the appointment I know not, — I rather think I shall not, because it must soon be made, I suppose, and I shall not be soon in the colony; but, if I should, your son, sir, will be more likely than any one I know of at present to have it. But, in such cases, every candidate has a right to have his pretensions examined, and impartially weighed; and, therefore, it would be improper for me to make any promises.

It gives me pleasure to learn that our people are at last in earnest to fortify the harbor. Believe me, my dear sir, it is of the last importance. I am very far from being certain that the armament at Halifax, with a large re-enforcement, will not return to Boston. Nothing will prevent it but the vigorous exertion of our government to render the town inaccessible. There is not in the world a harbor better fitted by Nature to be rendered impregnable by fortifications than that is. I wish I was with you, that I might be able to satisfy myself. Is there no such thing as getting upon Lovell's Island, or George's Island, and driving away the men-of-war, which lie in Nantasket Road? Can nothing be done at Hull or Point Alderton? I am afraid you are as destitute of active and capable engineers as in spirited commanding officers.

As to the cannon taken by Hopkins, I fear that none of them can be spared you. The continent have so many demands for cannon for their ships, and a variety of service by sea and land, that I am afraid we shall not be able to obtain any of them. Congress have given our colony all that belonged to it and the king.

I am extremely disappointed in the experiment at Providence. I hope it is not certain and settled that we have not ore in the northern colonies which is fit for the manufacture of cannon.

You rejoice me very much by acquainting me that there is plenty of materials for making sulphur in the country. Wish to be informed in greater detail what these materials are, where and when they were found, and whether the art of sublimating it is understood among our people. There is a sulphur ore in New Jersey, and we hear of it in other places. We have a committee for saltpetre, sulphur, powder, cannon, muskets, &c., but I don't hear so much from it as I wish.

Our people, you say, are impatiently waiting for the Congress to declare off from Great Britain. What my own sentiments are upon this question is not material. But others ask to what purpose should we declare off. Our privateers are at liberty, our trade is open, the colonies are sliding into new governments, a confederation may be formed; but why should we declare we never will be reconciled to Great Britain again upon any terms whatsoever?

You ask how it would be relished by the Congress if our colony should declare off. I am happy to hear that our colony is disusing a certain name in all commissions, acts, and law processes, and I should like very well if they would choose a governor, or at least ask leave of Congress to do it; but I cannot advise them to make any public declarations separate from our sister colonies. The Union is our defence, and that must be most tenderly

cherished. If our colony has an inclination to instruct their delegates in Congress, no reasonable objections can be made to this. They may, if they think proper, instruct their servants never to vote for any subjection to Parliament in any case whatsoever; never to vote for submitting to any Crown officer, whether governor, mandamus councillor, secretary, judge of admiralty, commissioner, or custom-house officer, &c., if this is their sentiment; or never to vote for acknowledging any allegiance or subjection to the Crown of Great Britain or King of Great Britain. But, if they do all this, I hope you will allow us to make peace as an independent State.

It is my opinion, sir, that we shall have but little difference of sentiment among the colonies upon these great questions in a few weeks.

I am, with great respect, &c.

JOHN ADAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

May 12, 1776.

Dear Sir, — I am favored with yours by your son, who has arrived here in good health. I wish he may be provided for in one of the ways you mention, because I esteem him deserving of it.

The question of independence is so vast a field, that I have not time to enter it and go any way in it. Many previous steps are necessary. The colonies should all assume the powers of government in all its branches first. They should confederate with each other, and define the powers of Congress next. They should then endeavor to form an alliance with some foreign State. When this is all done, a public declaration might be made. Such a declaration may be necessary, in order to obtain a foreign alliance; and it should be made for that end. But some are fearful of making it public, if they should agree to make it.

A recommendation has passed to all the colonies to institute governments, which will be published in a few days. A confederation will soon be thought of. Instructions against independence and confederation are all repealed, excepting Pennsylvania, and theirs will be soon. The colonies are about assuming governments, and most gentlemen are now sensible of the necessity of confederation. It is a great satisfaction to my own mind that it was not my fault that all these things were not done eleven months ago. If my country had not suffered so severely by the neglect, I should enjoy a triumph when I see gentlemen every day converted to those sentiments and measures which I supported ten months ago with all my poor endeavors, and they opposed with all their great abilities. But so it is. Mr. Dickinson himself is now an advocate for colony governments and continental confederation.

I was pleased to learn by your letter that our colony abounded with materials for making sulphur. Should be happy to know where and what they are, and how it is manufactured. Our province must bring this and every thing else to perfection.

I want to know the reason that our courts of justice have not proceeded. I fear there is a disagreeable spirit among the people, but cannot learn any particulars. I heard it hinted that the justices had been interrupted by force in Taunton, Hampshire, and Berkshire; hope it is not true. If it is, should be glad to know the complaints.

[In the handwriting of Mr. Adams, but not signed.]

JOHN WINTHROP TO JOHN ADAMS.

CAMBRIDGE, May 23, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favor of the 6th inst. You have doubtless been informed before this that, upon Mr. Read's refusal, Colonel Warren has been commissioned for the bench. He has not yet accepted, but it is thought he will. The judges here have appointed my brother as clerk. He declines taking the oath till he knows who his partner will be. The judges have expressed their readiness to appoint my son; which, if they do, my brother will accept. Should this take place, I hope it will be agreeable to you.

I am entirely in your sentiment; that it is of the last importance to fortify Boston harbor, and though they have not proceeded with the vigor one could wish, something considerable has been done, especially by the spirited exertions of the Bostonians and other gentlemen in the vicinity. The works on Fort Hill are very near finished, and have nine or ten pieces of battering cannon mounted. Those on Charlestown Point and on Dorchester Neck are very near, if not quite, completed. They are at work now on Noddle's Island and the Castle, where several cannon are already mounted, and expect soon to have them in a state of defence. They are also throwing up works at Point Shirley, to guard Pulling Point Gut and secure the passage of the harbor that way; and, I am told, intend next to fortify some posts lower down, near Nantasket; but I cannot say whether the particular places are yet pitched upon. But, after all, should the enemy return, we are in a poor condition to receive them. The army here is but weak and insufficient to maintain so many posts. As General W. has resigned, we were in hopes before this to have an active, spirited general sent to take the command in his room. Our main dependence must be on our militia, collected together in a hurry upon an

alarm, and many of them ill-provided with arms. May the same kind Providence which has hitherto protected us still protect us!

Since my last, I have been informed that they have succeeded better in casting cannon at Providence. They have made several good pieces, and particularly one eighteen-pounder.

They are attempting it also at Abington, and have cast one or two; but the stones they used for their furnaces would not stand the heat. I heard yesterday, at Boston, that they have since discovered stones which they think will do. As to sulphur, I am informed that there is a long ridge of hills in Brookfield which abounds with it. The sulphur has been extracted from the stone by sublimation, in small experiments, which promise success in larger. But nobody has yet attempted to set up large works, for want of public encouragement. The House did not think it necessary at present to give a large bounty; because, as it is said, there is as much sulphur already in the colony as we can manufacture into powder in eighteen months. Last week I was at the powder-mill at Andover. They go on briskly, and turn out, as they told me, twelve hundred pounds a week, and shall soon turn out considerably more.

Many people's spirits here are pretty much depressed by the late disagreeable news from Canada. I hope it will have a contrary effect upon the Congress.

Our people are now busy in electioneering. By the late act for a more equal representation, every town of three hundred and twenty voters may choose four representatives; and for every hundred more of voters, one more representative. In consequence of this, Boston has chosen eleven; Cambridge, four; Charlestown, four. In many other towns they have changed their men; so that there will be a very large House, and a great proportion of new members. There will likewise be a great change

at the Board. The plan is to leave out all executive officers. To this, I am sure, I have no objection on my own account.

You will see in the papers a resolve of the late House for collecting the sense of our people on the grand question of Independence. When their sense is known, you will soon hear of it. But I must observe, that the asserters of Independence do not mean declaring eternal war with Great Britain, neither do they mean to take the decision of that all-important point out of the hands of the Congress, or even to anticipate their resolutions upon it. But they mean to be for ever and effectually secured against a tyranny which claims an unlimited power over them, the effects of which they have already felt, — you know how.

With the most fervent supplications for the Divine direction and blessing on your counsel, I am very respectfully, Your affectionate friend.

P. S. Are we not to have an active, spirited general sent here, now General W. has resigned? We want one extremely, as well as skilful engineers. Indeed, we want men, too. Should the enemy return, we are in a very poor state of defence, and have nothing to depend on but our militia.

[In the handwriting of Professor Winthrop, but not signed.]

JOHN WINTHROP TO JOHN ADAMS.[1]

June 1.

Dear Sir, — I wrote you last week, acknowledging the receipt of your favor of May 6. Since that, have had the pleasure of another, of May 12, by my son. Am greatly

[1] This letter has been found among the papers of Mr. Adams, and is now supplied.

obliged to you for the favorable opinion you are pleased to express of him. I cannot but regret, however, that so large a proportion of the paper was left blank.

I have often wondered that so much difficulty should be raised about *declaring* independence, when we have actually got the *thing* itself. Who or what are we afraid of? Are we afraid of provoking Great Britain, which is now actually carrying on open war against us, and banding her whole force to subjugate or exterminate us? But I have had such an implicit faith in the wisdom of Congress, that I could not doubt but they had sufficient reason for their conduct. I now perceive you were in these sentiments long ago. But they are very opposite to the inveterate prejudices and long-established systems of many others. It must be a work of time to eradicate these prejudices; and perhaps it may be best to accomplish this great affair by slow and almost imperceptible steps, and not *per saltum*, by one violent exertion. The late resolution of May 15 comes very near it.

For what relates to sulphur, &c., I have nothing to add to what I wrote in my last, only that saltpetre has been made here in very large quantities. Yesterday being the last day in which the bounty of 7*s*. per lb. was allowed, I was surprised to see what a number of horses, loaded with that precious commodity, was crowding round the commissary's store in Watertown; and on the road from Watertown to Concord I met a great many others, and one or two wagons. The whole quantity I have not yet learned. The bounty is now reduced to 5*s*. till the 1st of October.

I wonder you have not heard more about our courts of justice I have purposely omitted many things in my letters, from a persuasion that you had full information of them either from private letters or the public newspapers, which, I suppose, you constantly receive. There have been no Courts held in Hampshire or Berkshire; no Justices of

the Peace yet appointed for Hampshire. In Taunton, the Justices were opposed by force, and hindered from going into the court-house by thirty or forty men with large sticks in their hands, and some blows were given. The Justices then assembled in the tavern. Three or four of the ringleaders, it is said, were soon after elected by the people as military officers (one of the blessed fruits of our militia system). The principal grounds of complaint, so far as I can learn, are these: 1. That the fees and court charges are extravagantly high. 2. That the commissions run in the name of the King. 3. That some persons have been put in commission who are obnoxious to the people.

To remove the first complaint, a new tax bill was passed, which has reduced most fees considerably. What is called a *confession bill* has also passed, similar to the Connecticut practice. For the second, the style of commissions, law processes, &c., is altered by an Act; and, instead of "George III.," it is to be "The Government and People of the Massachusetts Bay." A like Act has passed in Rhode Island.

As to the third, no officers have yet been displaced; so that grievance remains.

Whether the alterations made will allay these heats, time must discover. Some suspect these are only feasible reasons, and that the true ground of the opposition, at least with many, is an unwillingness to submit to law and pay their debts. But such has been the spirit raised among the people, that it was thought advisable to adjourn, by resolves, the courts, in most of the Counties. The Courts of Session have sat in Essex and Middlesex, but in no other County that I know of. I suppose they will sit in Suffolk next term. The Superior Court will meet for the first time at Ipswich, on the second Tuesday of June, and so proceed on the Eastern circuit. I should hope their presence in the several Counties, especially if the weight and influence of the Chief Justice could be

added, would have a very happy effect. But, important as his presence here would be, it is of so much greater importance at Philadelphia, that it ought not to be wished for at this time.

When these commotions will subside, it is impossible to say. There is such a spirit of innovation gone forth as I am afraid will throw us into confusion. It seems as if every thing was to be altered. Scarce a newspaper but teems with new projects. This week produced three: First, For county assemblies; Second, for a registry of deeds in each town; Third, for the probate of wills, &c., to be made in each town by a committee, to be annually chosen for that purpose at the meeting. The representative of one town in Suffolk (I do not know which) has received instructions to this purpose. I humbly conceive this is not a proper time to make so many alterations, when our all is at stake. It is like repairing a house that is on fire. First put out the fire, and then repair the house. It is likely, however, these points will be agitated, and perhaps carried, this session.

The election was held at Watertown. A list of the new Council is enclosed.

With great esteem and respect, I am, &c.

[In handwriting of Professor Winthrop, but not signed.]

JOHN ADAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

PHILADELPHIA, June 23, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of June the 1st is now before me. It is now universally acknowledged that we are, and must be, independent States. But still, objections are made to a declaration of it. It is said that such a declaration will arouse and unite Great Britain. But are they not already aroused and united as much as they will be?

Will not such a declaration arouse and unite the friends of liberty, — the few such who are left, — in opposition to the present system? It is also said that such a declaration will put us in the power of foreign States. That France will take advantage of us, when they see we can't recede, and demand severe terms of us. That she, and Spain too, will rejoice to see Britain and America wasting each other. But this reasoning has no weight with me, because I am not for soliciting any political connection or military assisttance, or indeed naval, from France. I wish for nothing but commerce — a mere marine treaty — with them. And this they will never grant, until we make the declaration; and this, I think, they cannot refuse, after we have made it.

The advantages which will result from such a declaration are, in my opinion, very numerous and very great. After that event, the colonies will hesitate no longer to complete their governments. They will establish tests, and ascertain the criminality of Toryism. The presses will produce no more seditious or traitorous speculations. Slanders upon public men and measures will be lessened. The legislatures of the colonies will exert themselves to manufacture saltpetre, sulphur, powder, arms, cannon, mortars, clothing, and every thing necessary for the support of life.

Our civil governments will feel a vigor hitherto unknown. Our military operations by sea and land will be conducted with greater spirit. Privateers will swarm in great numbers. Foreigners will then exert themselves to supply us with what we want. Foreign courts will not disdain to treat with us, upon equal terms. Nay, further, in my opinion, such a declaration, instead of uniting the people of Great Britain against us, will raise such a storm against the measures of administration as will obstruct the war, and throw the kingdom into confusion.

A committee is appointed to prepare a confederation of

the colonies, ascertaining the terms and ends of the compact, and the limits of the continental constitution; and another committee is appointed for purposes as important. These committees will report in a week or two; and then the last finishing stroke will be given to the politics of this revolution: nothing after that will remain but war. I think I may then petition my constituents for leave to return to my family, and leave the war to be conducted by others, who understand it better. I am weary, thoroughly weary, and ought to have a little rest.

I am grieved to hear, as I do from various quarters, of that rage for innovation which appears in so many wild shapes in our province. Are not these ridiculous projects, prompted, excited, and encouraged by disaffected persons, in order to divide, dissipate, and distract the attention of the people, at a time when every thought should be employed and every sinew exerted for the defence of the country? Many of the projects that I have heard of are not repairing, but pulling down the building, when it is on fire, instead of laboring to extinguish the flames. The projects of county assemblies, town registers, and town probates of wills are founded in narrow notions, sordid stinginess, and profound ignorance, and tend directly to barbarism. I am not solicitous who takes offence at this language. I blush to see such stuff in our public papers, which used to breathe a spirit much more liberal.

I rejoice to see, in the lists of both Houses, so many names respectable for parts and learning. I hope their fortitude and zeal will be in proportion: and then, I am sure, their country will have great cause to bless them.

I am, sir, with every sentiment of friendship and veneration,

Your affectionate and humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

DR. WINTHROP.

JOHN ADAMS TO JOHN WINTHROP.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 4, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — The bearer of this, Mr. Hare, is a brother of Mr. Robert Hare, of this city, the famous brewer of porter, who is carrying on that business here with great reputation and success, and on a very large scale. I wish our people would persuade him to erect works in the Massachusetts, whose barley and water, I am persuaded, is much better than this.

As this gentleman has an inclination to see the colleges, library, and apparatus, I have presumed so much upon your goodness as to ask this favor for him.

Fortune is rather unfriendly to us at New York; or, at least, if she is bestowing favors, they are such as our own wisdom and inclinations would have induced us to avoid as frowns. The possession of Staten Island, Long Island, and Manhadoes Island will be more than the whole fleet and army of our enemies can defend and maintain, and they will leave millions in gold and silver among the inhabitants of those islands. They cannot divide their force: if they do, they are undone. They cannot march into the country: if they do, their retreat will be cut off. Is it not better for the continent that they should stay at New York, than that they should have forced winter quarters again at Boston, or at one of the southern colonies, which would certainly have been the case, if they had not succeeded at Long Island? The communication between the northern and southern colonies they cannot cut off this year; most certainly, in another, France and Spain may give them other occupations.

I am, sir, your friend and most obedient servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

Dr. WINTHROP.

JOHN WINTHROP TO JOHN ADAMS.

CAMBRIDGE, Sept. 17, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your favor of ———, but it is so old a date, that I am ashamed to put it down. I should have answered it seasonably, and congratulated you on the glorious Declaration of Independence, which has long been the object of my wishes, as well as yours. But, by all the accounts I have heard, I have been expecting you here from week to week. This declaration you have at last obtained, though, I doubt not, with infinite struggles. I do not at all wonder you are weary, though I am heartily sorry for it. For the sake of your personal ease, for the happiness of your amiable family and your friends, and for the particular advantage of this State, I should be glad of your return; but, when I consider the vast importance of the department you are now acting in, and the very critical situation of this great continent, I cannot help wishing that your patience might hold out a little longer.

By the papers, I find that Dr. Franklin, Judge Adams, and Mr. Rutledge are appointed a committee to confer with the two Howes. Would it not be better to have this conference (if it must be called so) carried on in writing, than by a personal interview, *litera scripta manet*. I am in no pain for the independence of America, while in the hands of men whose sagacity and firmness are beyond all question; but I apprehend the treaty, in whatever way it be managed, must be fruitless. I cannot suppose those commissioners have power to treat with America as an independent State; and, till that affair is settled, which, I trust, the Congress will never give up, it should seem to little purpose to treat of other matters. This grand affair must be decided by war, not by treaty. Our inveterate enemies will never give it up, till they find themselves compelled to it. I hope we shall be able

to prosecute this war effectually and successfully. Our principal defect at present is in the article of cannon, which are here very scarce, and in such demand for privateers, that they have risen to an enormous price. Our privateers have met with great success; but our bay is infested with three or four frigates, which have retaken some valuable prizes, and interrupt our coasting trade.

If the continental ships built in New England could be furnished with cannon, and ordered upon this service, I should hope they would clear the coast of these cruisers, and perhaps take some of them. The General Court last week made application to Congress for such orders; and, if they obtain them, will supply cannon for one of three ships at Newbury, though at the expense of stripping our forts. Yesterday a resolve passed for erecting a public foundry, which, I hope, before another year, will supply us with all the cannon we shall want. The Court has ordered near a fifth of our militia for New York. I hope they will soon arrive there, and that General Washington will be able to prevent the enemy from gaining footing on the main.

The Superior Court are now on their Western Circuit. General Warren, you doubtless know, has declined a seat on that bench. The place is not yet filled up, but I suppose Mr. Sergeant, of Haverhill, will be the man.

When you return, no man will embrace you with the greater pleasure than, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend and humble servant.

[Without signature.]

Judge Adams.

PART III.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

JOHN ADAMS AND MERCY WARREN

RELATING TO HER

"HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,"

JULY—AUGUST, 1807.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

JOHN ADAMS AND MERCY WARREN.

Of all the evils to which mankind is subjected in this sublunary state, perhaps not one is more severely felt than a civil war. To a people closely allied to one another by blood, by similarity of language, of habit, and manners, the breaking out of dissension terminating in the shedding of the blood of kinsmen is the most to be deplored. If this be true of the men taking an active part in the strife, how much more is it of women, with no share in the action, and yet subject to all the fearful anxieties of the conflict!

Such was the state of things at the beginning of the American Revolution. The resistance of the people was general, though not universal; but it was in a degree the firm moral support of the women which contributed to the ultimate triumph.

Among the examples of patriotism that may be cited for the present purpose, not one deserves more distinguished notice than Mercy — or, as she sometimes liked to sign herself, *Marcia* — Warren. The sister of that eminent patriot James Otis, and the wife of General James Warren, himself a distinguished actor in the public cause, she never failed in keeping up to the high standard required by the emergency. This honored pair were early associated, too, with another that equally sympathized in their appreciation of the grandeur of this crisis. This pair were their intimate friends, Abigail, and her husband, John Adams, the lawyer of Braintree.

The fortune of these friends did not prevent them from long separations. On the one hand, Mr. Adams was twice called to cross the ocean on the public service, as well as to continue so long in Europe that his wife was induced finally to join him. Meantime, independence had been assured, peace made with the mother country, and the new nation, assuming all the authority incident to the establishment of a permanent government, stood forth to be

reckoned as one of the powers of the earth. Then sprang up political parties inseparable from the action of a free people. When Mr. Adams returned to his home, he found himself at once ranked by the side of Washington, and elected to the second office in the new government of which the latter had been made the head. On the other hand, his old friends James and Mercy Warren, not altogether satisfied with the extent of the reforms, leaned to a policy of which Mr. Jefferson proved ultimately the type. The result of the struggle is well known. Mr. Adams succeeded to Washington, and four years later had to yield the palm, after a severe struggle, to Jefferson. He retired to Quincy, under perhaps as great a burden of unpopularity as has ever yet fallen to the share of any great statesman innocent of crime.

Meanwhile, the family of James Warren, having shown sympathy with the Republican side, were equally struggling with the opposite element, which in Massachusetts largely predominated, if not in the whole country. Yet the kindly relations between the two families were in no way affected until an event occurred which for a period threatened to destroy them for ever.

Conscious of her capacity for something beyond the mere routine of domestic life in a retired village, the idea occurred to Mrs. Warren to make use of her familiarity with the mass of details collected during her period of observation of the struggle which she had followed with so much interest, to attempt a history of the Revolution. From the very modest preface introducing her work, it may be inferred that she had been many years engaged in collecting papers before coming to any decision how to use them. Be this as it may, the fact is certain that in the year 1805 her work had been completed, and was ushered to the world in three octavo volumes, bearing this title: "History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution; interspersed with Biographical, Political, and Moral Observations."

This work seems to have been generally well received, though freely dealing with critical questions, and still more with the action of distinguished men. Unfortunately for the preservation of harmony between these old friends, there appeared references to the course of Mr. Adams which savored somewhat of the French phrase of *coups d'épingle*, and, coming upon him at a time when his feelings had not entirely recovered from the blow received in the election, created extraordinary irritation. He proceeded at once to address directly to Mrs. Warren a series of ten letters, in the course of which he went largely into the defence of himself from her insinuations rather than absolute charges, without sparing his indignation against her.

It is these ten letters and Mrs. Warren's replies that it is now proposed to lay before the public, not on account of the undue severity incidentally scattered in the pages, but because they contain many details of interest connected with the diplomatic history of America in Europe in that early day and with the struggle for independence, which it seems worth while to preserve in a permanent shape.

It is due to Mrs. Warren to add that she received Mr. Adams's letters with proper feminine dignity; and her spirited answers, though brief, do her nothing but honor. For a period there was a discontinuance of the social relations; but it could not, in the nature of things, last a great while. Common friends interposed, the result of which was an agreement of both parties to submit the entire correspondence to some impartial person willing to act as an arbiter and determine who was in fault, and to abide by the penalty, whatever it might be, which he should decree. That arbiter was Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, at that time elevated to the position of Governor of that State. It is to the honor of that distinguished man that he held the scales so firmly that, though clearly marking the nature of the errors each party had fallen into, he opened a way to reconciliation not mortifying to either, and cheerfully accepted by both.

From that date the correspondence of Mrs. Warren was kept up steadily with Mrs. Adams, through whom messages and replies were transmitted from her husband, and occasionally with Mr. Adams, down to the time of the decease of the former, which took place in 1814. She had then been a widow for six years. It is impossible to close this brief memorial of a singular passage of history without expressing a high sense of the eminent qualities displayed by Mrs. Warren in her correspondence with Mr. and Mrs. Adams, begun at an early date, and continued with more or less intervals for fifty years.

These papers, now presented for the first time to the public, have been contributed respectively by two members of the committee acting as the representatives of their respective families. It has also been deemed not inappropriate to close the correspondence with a few later letters that passed between the two ladies, to show how thoroughly Mr. Gerry's services were appreciated by them.

C. F. A.

CORRESPONDENCE.

No. 1.

JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

QUINCY, July 11, 1807.

DEAR MADAM, — As it is neither consistent with my principles, disposition, or habits, upon any misunderstanding with an ancient friend, to conceive resentment and hastily to be changed into an enemy, I shall still continue my old style of address to Mrs. Warren.

I have read much, if not all your History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution.

I am not about to write a review of it. If I were to do this under an oath to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, the commentary would certainly be at least twice as voluminous as the text. But, as in those passages which relate personally to me there are several mistakes, I propose at my leisure to point out some of them to you in the spirit of friendship, that you may have an opportunity in the same spirit to correct them for any future edition of the work, if you are convinced of the inaccuracy of the passages and judge it necessary or expedient to make any alteration. I shall observe no order in selecting the passages, but take them up as they occur by accident.

In the 392d page of the third volume, you say that "Mr. Adams, his passions and prejudices were sometimes too strong for his sagacity and judgment."

I will not, I cannot say that this is not true. But I can and will say, with the utmost sincerity, that I am not conscious of having ever in my life taken one public step or performed one public act from passion or prejudice, or from any other motive than the public good. If I had acted from passion or prejudice, from interest, ambition, or avarice, the public affairs of this country would have been in a much less prosperous condition than they are, and my private fortune, both in rank and property, much more enviable than it is. I therefore pray you, Madam, to particularize some of those instances in which it has appeared or been represented to you that my prejudices or passions were too strong for my sagacity and judgment, and I will undertake to vindicate or rather to justify myself to you, or, if I cannot do that, will make you the necessary concessions.

In the same page, you say that "Mr. Adams was sent to England with a view of negotiating a treaty of commerce; but the government too sore from the loss of the colonies, and the nation too much soured by the breach, nothing was done."

To form a just idea of this passage, it would be necessary to transcribe my commission and the plan of a treaty which was offered to Great Britain. A letter of credence to reside with a government and a commission to make a treaty are sometimes different instruments, and were made so by Congress in this instance. I was accredited as Minister Plenipotentiary, to reside at the Court of St. James. But, in the commission to make a treaty of commerce, Mr. Franklin and Mr. Jefferson were associated with me, and the project of a treaty was conformable to the judgment of a majority of the three Commissioners. Mr. Franklin could not come over to England; but Mr. Jefferson did, and was presented by me to the King as one of the commissioners, and united with me in presenting our project of a treaty to the Marquis of Carmarthen. This

project contained all those Articles relative to the total suppression of all privateers and prizes, and other Articles which you will find in our treaty with the old King of Prussia. These Articles were as congenial to my heart and feelings, and had the approbation of my judgment as sentiments of equity and humanity, as entirely as they had those of my colleagues. But I knew at that time, as certainly as I do now, that Britain would voluntarily burn her navy and her flag as soon as she would consent to them. Had I been alone in the commission, I should not have inserted them in the project, — not because I did not approve them as philosophical principles, but because I knew the only effect of them would be to disgust and alarm the government and the nation. No notice was ever taken by the British Ministry of these articles; but there is no doubt they had an unfavorable effect upon their minds. Their avowed and ostensible objection to a treaty was that the treaty of peace had not been executed, and the proofs which had been given to the world that Congress had neither power nor authority to bind the nation; for every State in the Union had passed laws in direct violation of the treaty of peace. You say I resided in England four or five years. I resided there from August, 1785, to the 19th of April, 1788, not three years; but this is an erratum of little consequence.

When you say that nothing was done, the error is of some weight. The truth is, a great deal was done, and will appear to the world, if ever my letters to Congress and their instructions to me, together with Lord Carmarthen's letters to me, should be published. Among other things, it will appear that every State in the Union was induced to repeal their laws which had been made against the treaty, though Virginia and some other Southern States continued to contravene it without law. As the whole transaction was a disgrace to our nation, I am apprehensive no historian will ever be found to record it.

But the most exceptionable passage as yet found in this page is: "Unfortunately for himself and his country, he became so enamoured with the British Constitution and the government, manners, and laws of the nation, that a partiality for monarchy appeared, which was inconsistent with his former professions of republicanism."

Every part and every sentiment in this paragraph, I affirm, upon my honor and my faith, is totally unfounded.

My opinion of the British Constitution was formed long before I had any thing to do in public life, more than twenty years before I ever saw the British Island. I learned from Fortescue, Smith, Montesquieu, Vattel, Acherley, Bacon, Bolingbroke, Sullivan, and Blackstone, and DeLolme, and even from Marchmont Needham, Algernon Sydney, James Harrington, and every other writer on government, and from all the examples I had ever read in history, from all I knew of the human heart and the rise, progress, and tendency of the passions in society, the information, opinion, and judgment I have ever formed of the British Constitution, long before the Stamp Act in 1764 and 1765. I also learned to admire that Constitution from Colonel Otis, your father, from James Otis, your brother, from Mr. Gridley, Mr. Thacher, and even from Samuel Adams and James Warren, and even from Mrs. Mercy Warren, his ingenious and amiable lady. Neither my judgment of that Constitution, nor my esteem of it, nor my affection for it, was increased or altered by my residence in England. My esteem for the manners of the English or the French was not certainly augmented by my residence among them.

If we may distinguish between manners and morals, I should certainly prefer the manners of the French and the morals of the English. But my esteem of neither was increased by a residence among them.

You say a partiality for monarchy appeared. This fact I deny, and entreat you to mention to me the evidence

which you supposed would warrant the assertion, that I may clear it up, or at least be heard in my defence.

I have never exhibited or entertained but one opinion of monarchy in any part of my life. Despotism, absolute monarchy, absolute aristocracy, and absolute democracy I have uniformly detested through my whole life; because I knew that absolute power was tyranny, delirious tyranny wherever it was placed. A mixed government is the only one that can preserve liberty. The limited, equipoised monarchy of England I have always thought the only government which could preserve civil, political, or religious liberty, or even the semblance of it, in any of the great populous, commercial, opulent, luxurious, and corrupted nations of Europe.

In America I have always thought that a mixed government was necessary. But by a mixed government in America I have never understood a government with an hereditary Executive or an hereditary Senate. Neither of these ever appeared to me to be necessary. But I have always advocated a mixed elective government in three branches, such as are the Constitutions of Massachusetts and New York, from which the Constitution of the United States is wholly borrowed. So far from manifesting a partiality for monarchy, I have always uniformly declared to my friends, whenever the subject has been seriously started in conversation, that if the people of America would unanimously confer on me the power of instituting a government for them, as the Athenians did on Solon, and the Lacedæmonians on Lycurgus, and I knew beforehand that they would quietly submit to whatever plan I should propose, I would not recommend to them either an hereditary king or an hereditary nobility, because I did not in my conscience believe it would be for their happiness, security, or prosperity. On the other hand, I have always reprobated and opposed a government that is a sovereignty in a single representative assembly, in opposition to Franklin,

Paine, Matlock, Young, Lieutenant-Governor Cushing, and even Samuel Adams as well as Mr. Turgot. In conformity with these views and principles, I wrote my letter to Mr. Wythe, and it was published in the beginning of the year 1776, under the title of "Thoughts on Government, in a Letter from a Gentleman to his Friend," in which a Legislature in three branches was recommended, and an independent Executive and Judiciary, and from which the Constitution of New York was taken.

In conformity with the same system, in the Convention of the Massachusetts, in 1779, I advocated a Legislative in three branches, with an Executive entirely independent, and even with a negative on all the laws, with an independent Judiciary, not only in the committee of thirty and in the sub-committee of three who appointed me to draw the Constitution, but after our report, in the Convention at large, before three or four hundred members from all parts of the State. I have never deceived the people, Mrs. Warren, nor any individual of them. I have never practised simulation nor dissimulation with my countrymen. My principles and opinions have always been as public as arguments before the most numerous popular assemblies, and even as dissemination from the press could make them; and they have always been uniformly the same in matters of government. No other professions of republicanism than these did I ever make, and these I have always made.

In page 394, you say in a note that "circumstances in some future day may render it necessary to adopt an hereditary monarchy in the United States." This is going the utmost length to which I have ever gone in any of my writings or conversation, though I could name to you men in high rank, power, and popularity with the present predominant party, who have gone much further, and asserted that the Constitution of the United States was defective in not having an hereditary Executive and Senate.

I can recollect but one circumstance which could give a color to the representation you have given of my monarchical sentiments, and that is this. Not long after my return from Europe, in a conversation between General Warren, yourself, and me, at my house, the Constitution of the United States was the topic. The General did not like it. You said you had a letter from Mrs. Macaulay, in which she said she thought it would do, for the foundation of it was democracy. "Poh!" said the General, "she does not understand it." I said I thought the Constitution an acquisition; and, after some slight observations on both sides, I said jocularly, laughing, in that style of familiarity which had been long habitual between us, "For my part, I want King, Lords, and Commons." I supposed that both of you perfectly understood me to mean, what alone I did mean, such a balance of power as the Constitution we had been talking of contained, which is a miniature resemblance of kings, lords, and commons, though without the names, and without the permanent quality of the two former. This, and no more, was my meaning; and it is certain that you understood me in this sense, and in this sense only, for you answered me as quick as lightning, laughing as I did, "And so do I too."

It was a very common saying at that time by some, in the sense in which you and I understood it, and used it. I can prove that Mr. Speaker Morton said that "no government was worth a damn but that of King, Lords, and Commons." Governor McKean has said seriously to me, that the Constitution of the United States was defective in not having an hereditary Executive and Senate; and I can prove that he said the same thing to others and even in open conversation at public tables, and held serious arguments to prove and support his opinion. Many others I could mention who now rank high in power, some of them even so far as to say that we ought to have a monarchy here in the person of one of the sons of the

King of England, — an idea I have always most cordially detested. If I were to measure out to others the treatment that has been meted to me, I could make wild work with some of your party. Shall I indulge in retaliation or not?

I shall proceed no farther at present, but expect with impatience your answer. In the mean time, I shall prepare more for your consideration. My regards to the General, and believe me still your friend, though with some grievances to complain of.

J. Adams.

Mrs. Mercy Warren.

No. 1.

MRS. MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS.

Plymouth, Mass., July 16, 1807.

John Adams, Esq., — After a long suspension of a friendly literary intercourse, it was very unexpected to me this day to receive a letter from Mr. Adams; nor can I conceive of any thing that should occasion a resentment in his bosom, or prevent his old style of address to Mrs. Warren, or give the semblance of an "old friend being hastily converted into an enemy," — much less could I have expected to have been charged with a want of veracity or a malignancy of heart by a gentleman who has long known me too well to suspect me wilfully guilty of either. Had not the irritation of the times or some other cause unknown to me have agitated his mind too much for the gentleman or the friend, I should not have received a letter couched in such terms as his of the 11th of July.

In the second paragraph of this letter, you say you have read much, if not all of my History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution. You pro-

ceed to say that you are "*not about to write a review;*" that, if you should, "*the commentary would be twice as voluminous as the text.*" But of this I think I am sure, that, were you to write with the same eye of candor and friendship with which you once viewed her compositions, the author might have little to fear from your strictures.

I have lived long enough to be sensible that such a work would be variously received by such a world, and in such times as those in which we live.

I have expected that this history must pass under the criticisms of great and little men; but conscious that I have uniformly endeavored to write with impartiality, to state facts correctly, and to draw characters with truth and candor, whether the friends or the foes of my country, or the enemies of myself and family, or of those connected by the dearest ties of nature and friendship, I have ventured to submit it to the ocean of public opinion. I think I feel a firmness of mind at my advanced period of life that will not be shaken by censure or elated with applause, my conscience bearing testimony that I have aimed at a just delineation of every fact and every character I have thought myself obliged to touch in the course of my narration.

You surely thought this a just standard of historic merit, when a letter now in my cabinet, dated March 15th, 1775, was written: you therein have observed that "the faithful historian delineates characters truly, let the censure fall where it will. The public is so interested in public characters that they have a right to know them, and it becomes the duty of every good citizen who happens to be acquainted with them to communicate his knowledge."

Having written under a strong sense of the moral obligation of truth, adhering strictly to its dictates according to the best of my information, which I endeavored to draw from the purest sources, I had determined on a uniform silence relative to any criticisms that might appear from

public scribblers, or the disquisitions and interrogatories of others in a more private character. How far I may be induced to depart from this resolution by your observations addressed directly to myself, I know not.

I have always been sensible of the difficulty and delicacy of drawing living characters. It is my opinion that the character of man is never finished until the last act of the drama is closed. There is therefore a variety of circumstances that may exhibit his opinions and his transactions in a varied point of view from what they have been in different portions of his life.

You say in your letter that you "have some grievances to complain of," and that justice has not been done you in my historic work. Of this I have never been sensible: what I have said relative to your character was read and revised and re-read, and I frequently wished for an opportunity to have submitted it even to your own eye, thinking that, under the pressure of abuse that you had received from your enemies, your mind might have been relieved by such a candid scrutiny of error and mistake to which all are liable.

You have requested me to "particularize some of those instances in which it has appeared or been represented to me [you] that Mr. Adams's passions and prejudices were sometimes too strong for his sagacity and judgment."

It is true that I have asserted that you were subject to passions and prejudices like other men: your warmest friends and acquaintance will never contradict this; nor do I think a natural irritability of temper any impeachment of character. Passions are sometimes the heavenly gales that waft us safely to port, at others the ungovernable gusts that blow us down the stream of absurdity. I have never charged you with prejudice or passion in the discharge of your functionary duties in public life. But, strongly impressed with the idea that from a firm republican you was become an advocate for monarchic govern-

ment in your own country, I was led to think that your prejudices were too strong for your sagacity and judgment, or you never could have expected that for a long time to come such a government could have been acceptable in America.

You have made a number of criticisms on my observations in page 392, Vol. III., relative to your residence in England, of your attachment to the British Constitution, of the number of worthy characters who taught you to love that Constitution, among whom you have done me the honor to place the name of Mrs. Warren, and have added that "neither your [my] judgment of that Constitution, nor your [my] esteem of it, nor your [my] affection for it, was increased or altered by your residence in England." Of this, I shall only say that that attachment was long felt by every American as well as yourself. The principles of that Constitution have been admired, but the deviations from them detested, and the corrupt practices and arbitrary systems of that Government are become abhorrent.

But as you say you are making preparations for further commentaries on the work you are reviewing, and have promised to do it "*in the spirit of friendship*," I shall waive a reply to what you are pleased to say of those whom you denominate my party, and leave you to indulge in retaliation or not. As I do not understand the drift of your question, I am not competent to reply. I shall subscribe myself, so long as you have the smallest title to that claim,

Your friend, M. Warren.

No. 2.

JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

QUINCY, July 20, 1807.

DEAR MADAM, — In the 392d page of the third volume of your History, you say that "after Mr. Adams's return from England he was implicated by a large portion of his countrymen as having relinquished the Republican system and forgotten the principles of the American Revolution, which he had advocated for near twenty years."

I am somewhat at a loss for the meaning of the word "implicated" in this place. If it means suspected or accused or reproached, I know nothing of it. No man ever accused or reproached me with any such relinquishment or oblivion. My books had been received and read. The first volume had been published in three new editions of it, one in Boston, another at New York, and a third at Philadelphia, and propagated far and wide in all parts of the United States. It was put into the hands of the members of the Continental Convention at Philadelphia, then sitting for the formation of the Constitution in 1787, and almost in despair of ever agreeing upon any plan.

This book had such an effect upon the gentlemen that it united them in the system they adopted. Your friend Mr. Dickinson came out of the Convention, and said to Dr. Rush that he had been in despair of getting the Convention to agree at all, but Mr. Adams's book had diffused among the members such good principles, that now he had no doubt they should agree upon a good Constitution. Governor Martin, of North Carolina, and for six years a Senator of the United States, who had been a member of the Convention that formed the Constitution, told me that my "Defence" had produced the Constitution of the United States. Dr. Morse told me that he was informed from good authority that my "Defence" had

produced an entire revolution in the sentiments of the Convention, and influenced the members to agree to the Constitution that was adopted. I have learned the same fact from many other sources.

The general principles and system of that book were adopted by the writers of Publius or the Federalist, Mr. Jay, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Hamilton. My principles and opinions concerning forms of government were therefore certainly public enough: they were perfectly well known throughout the continent. Besides this, Dr. Jarvis, of Boston, was known publicly and openly to approve of that book, and he sent me message after message, that of all the politicians of the age he agreed most with me; and General Warren himself, in a letter he wrote me in London after he had perused the first volume of the "Defence," — which letter I shall produce on a proper occasion, for I have it at hand, — expressed his entire approbation of it, saying that there was nothing in it but what he entirely agreed in, excepting the negative upon the laws proposed to be given to the Governor, which he said, upon the whole, he had rather should be qualified, as it is in our Constitution, than absolute, as I proposed. Mr. Samuel Adams said to me more than once that he did not differ much from me in the sentiments in that book.

Now, Madam, I pray you to tell me who were the persons who composed that large portion of my countrymen who implicated me as having relinquished the Republican system? Was Mr. Dickinson, Dr. Jarvis, General Warren, Mr. Samuel Adams, or the Convention who framed the Constitution of the United States, among the number who composed that "large portion"? For a long time after my arrival in America, I heard but one voice concerning my book. George Bryant, of Pennsylvania, said or wrote that he believed the Convention that formed the National Constitution had been too much influenced by Mr. Adams's book; and this is all the slur that I remem-

ber to have heard or read upon that book till the election of Vice-President came on.

Mr. Hancock was ambitious of being President or Vice-President: I stood in his way. Hamilton was afraid of me; and General Knox, over whom Hamilton at that time had great influence, came to Boston with a view of promoting Hancock to the Vice-Presidency. I had been the friend of Knox from the time when he was a little boy in Deacon Henchman's Book and Stationery shop, and had done at least as much as any man in the world, and I believe much more, towards bringing him forward in life, and in the army.

But Hamilton had insinuated into him that I should not harmonize with Washington, and (would you believe it?) that "John Adams was a man of too much influence to be so near Washington." In this dark and insidious manner did this intriguer lay schemes in secret against me; and, like the worm at the root of the peach, did he labor for twelve years, underground and in darkness, to girdle the root, while all the axes of the Anti-federalists, Democrats, Jacobins, Virginia debtors to English merchants, and French hirelings, chopping as they were for the whole time at the trunk, could not fell the tree. Knox, however, after spending some time in Boston, and conversing with all sides, found he was upon a wrong scent, and that Mr. Hancock could not be carried; and, indeed, he was convinced that he ought not to be, and was decided in my favor, though he had previously gone so far with Mr. Hancock himself that he was under embarrassment about declaring it openly. All this, however, never made any alteration in my friendship for Knox, nor in his for me, to the day of his death, which did not happen till he had been supplanted by Hamilton, as many others were.

From this time, some of Mr. Hancock's intimates began to insinuate in secret whispers prejudices and calumnies

against me. But at first nothing was said about my monarchical principles nor my attachment to England; but they reported that I was stingy and avaricious. It was two or three years, I believe, before I heard any thing of monarchy or England. The very first time I heard any thing like it was from Samuel Adams, who told me that General Warren had said that "John Adams had been corrupted by his residence in England." Astonished as I was, I said nothing. But I remembered a letter from General Warren which I had received in England, which I still preserve, and will produce, if necessary, in which he said, "Samuel Adams has become, contrary to all his former principles and professions, the most arbitrary man in the State." I had learned from all quarters the dissensions between Samuel Adams and General Warren at and before Shays's Rebellion; and therefore I attributed these peevish ebullitions from both to their mutual rancor, and took great care to conceal from each of them what the other had said. In truth, I could not believe that General Warren had said that I had been corrupted. I never could think it possible till I read your History, in which I found many things quite as extraordinary. Corrupted! On what ground? On what color did he venture this assertion and expression? Was it my book? That is impossible, for he had fully approved it under his hand. Besides, I will forfeit my life, if there is one thought in that or any other of my public writings which by a fair construction can be interpreted against the purest morality, or inconsistent with the principles and the system which I have always professed. Corrupted! Madam, what provocation, what evidence, what misrepresentation could he have received that could prompt him to utter this execrable calumny? Corruption is a charge that I cannot and will not bear. I challenge the whole human race, and angels and devils too, to produce an instance of it from my cradle to this hour. But what am I to infer

from this conduct of General Warren, if Sam Adams's assertion is true?

What, indeed, am I to conclude from your History? Shall I infer from both that General Warren and his lady were the first propagators of the stories which were spread through the Union before the election of Mr. Jefferson, and which were fully believed by the ignorant German boors in Pennsylvania, and by many of the ignorant voters in all the Southern States, — that John Adams had married his daughter in England to the Prince of Wales, and his son John Quincy Adams to the Princess Royal of England, and had entered into a treaty with King George to make his son-in-law king of North America? Or am I to attribute to the Warren family the honor that was done me in the back parts of Pennsylvania and in Kentucky, of being hanged in effigy by the side of Mr. Jay, with a purse of English guineas in my hand? There was nothing worse in all this than there was in General Warren's assertion, if he uttered it.

Corruption! Madam, I shall not very easily or very soon quit this topic; and I have a right to demand of you, and of General Warren, too, a more explicit acknowledgment of my uncorrupted integrity than any you have made in your History. Both of you well knew that promotion to a very respectable and lucrative office under the Crown was offered me by Governor Bernard, by the advice of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, and that I not only declined, but was so long urged to accept it, that I was at last reduced to the necessity of positively refusing it. And you knew that my refusal was owing to my resolution not to be led into the temptation of corruption. You knew that from 1760 and 1761 I had invariably adhered to the cause of my country, and to all its friends, in opposition to every mortification that government and its friends could throw in my way; that I had been always employed in the most perplexing and embarrass-

ing, and at the same time the most unprofitable, causes in behalf of the Whigs. You knew that my integrity was always acknowledged both by Tories and Whigs. You knew that I had abandoned the head of a lucrative profession, in which I had the first practice for seven years, and went to Congress to serve my country for twelve shillings a day; and you knew that I had abandoned my wife and children, whom I loved more than my own life, and lived ten years in a state of separation from them, at the call and in the service of my country. You knew that I had crossed the Atlantic Ocean three times, and run the gauntlet through successions of British men-of-war, at a time when the spirit of the British government was so high, and the passions of the nation so exasperated, that I had every reason to apprehend, if they once had me in their power, they would make of me an example of their vengeance by executing upon me their punishment of treason in all its horrors. You knew that I had undertaken all these hazards, after your philosophical friend Jefferson had not dared to accept them. You knew that not one lisp or hint of suspicion of my integrity had ever crossed the Atlantic from Europe, either from friends or enemies, either in France, England, or Holland, where I had resided as an Ambassador ten years, and done a vast deal of business, and been engaged in perpetual intercourse and conversation with all sorts of people, from the highest ranks to all the middle ranks, if not to the lowest; and I presume to say you never heard my integrity impeached from that side the water. I would not hesitate to appeal to all Europe, and am confident you would not find one man or woman who would question my integrity in any transaction of mine abroad, public or private.

Provoked as I am, I will say I believe you would find many more of the opinion of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, though they might not approve of his expression. In company one day with members of Congress, of whom

our friend Mr. Gerry was one, the conversation turned upon me, and one of the gentlemen asked the Chevalier whether he thought Mr. John Adams might not be corrupted. The Chevalier answered, "One might as well attempt to corrupt Jesus Christ." If there is any indecency or blasphemy in this expression, it is not my fault. It shocked me when I heard it, and I never should have committed it to writing if your History had never been printed. Mr. Gerry is my author, and of him you may inquire. So much for my "corruption in England and relinquishment of the Republican system."

Now for my having "forgotten the principles of the American Revolution, which I [he] had advocated for near twenty years." Here a wide field is opened, indeed. We must inquire what were the principles of the American Revolution; whether Mr. Adams had advocated all of them; which of them he had ever advocated, and which of them he had advocated for near twenty years; whether he had forgotten all of them; if not, which of them he had forgotten.

The principles of the American Revolution may be said to have been as various as the thirteen States that went through it, and in some sense almost as diversified as the individuals who acted in it. In some few principles, or perhaps in one single principle, they all united.

I will give you, Madam, as succinct an analysis of the principles of the Revolution which I embraced and advocated as I can.

1. The first principle of the American Independence and Revolution that I ever embraced, advocated, or entertained, was, *Defence against the French.*

As I still take great delight in writing to Mrs. Warren, whatever grief, resentment, or indignation I may justly feel, I shall indulge myself in a little ramble with her. In the year 1745, and before and after that time I heard and read a great deal about the expedition to Cape Breton,

and the projected expeditions against Canada. I heard a great deal about the enterprise and valor of our people, not only in these military enterprises, but in the Indian wars of Standish, Church, Lovell, and others. I heard a number of old men who had been a *soldiering*, as they expressed it, in their youth, at the Westward, at Number Four, and at the Eastward, relate their dangers, escapes, combats, and enterprises.

From all these and many other sources, my little noddle had conceived a very high opinion of the integrity, enterprise, patience, and perseverance of my countrymen, so that I had not the smallest doubt but our people would cut to pieces at once the Duke D'Enville's army, if they should dare to land at Boston or on any other part of our shores.

In the same years, I heard great complaints of the English, of their neglect to defend us and assist us, and a thousand murmurings about cowardice and treachery, and some apprehensions that the English would forsake us or sell us to France. This war, however, went over; and my mind was much at ease about public affairs till 1754 and 1755. Then the French were making encroachments, and Shirley was appointed the great negotiator to the court of France; and soon after, with a French wife, he was made Commander-in-Chief of the military force in America. During this time, our affairs went so ill that I had great apprehensions that the French would overrun us. When Lord Loudon succeeded, his conduct was so ridiculous that I could not help thinking we could do better without England than with her; and I seriously wished she would leave us to ourselves, and send us no more of their Generals. So great was my confidence in the resolution of my countrymen, that I had no doubt we could defend ourselves against the French, and that better without England than with her.

In the course of that war, I heard such relations from

our provincial officers of the treatment they received from the regulars as made my blood boil in my veins. Brigadier Ruggles with his whole brigade, and my friend Gardiner Chandler as one of his Colonels, was put under the direction of a British ensign, and employed to cut roads, when they were much more willing, and I believed much more able, to fight the French, than the British officers and soldiers who treated them so cavalierly.

As early as this, I thought seriously of American independence; and, if the conduct of Britain was not altered, I thought I should wish for it. Here, then, I say that *defence against the French* was my first Principle of revolution. But Wolfe and Amherst succeeded, affairs went well, and all my reveries about independence vanished.

2. But they were not allowed to sleep long. As early as 1760, orders came to Paxton and Cockle to demand Writs of Assistance to break open houses, cellars, shops, and ships, to search for uncustomed goods. Judge Sewall died: Hutchinson was appointed Chief Justice on purpose, as I believed, to give judgment in favor of these writs.

I heard your brother James Otis, and Mr. Thacher, in the Council Chamber before the Superior Court in February, 1761, against the legality of these writs, and Mr. Gridley, in their favor; took minutes of the argument, made a short sketch of a report of it, which was afterwards surreptitiously printed, though garbled, and has got into Judge Minot's History. This cause opened to my view a nearer prospect of a revolution than I had ever seen before. I saw a haughty, powerful nation, who held us in great contempt, bent upon extending the authority of Parliament over our purses and all our internal concerns as well as external. I saw, on the other hand, the people of America cordially and conscientiously averse to these pretensions, and such was my opinion of their resolution that I believed they would oppose them to the last extremity. I saw no possible way in which these opposite

opinions and determinations could be reconciled, and therefore concluded the controversy would be long continued, productive in time of a civil war, and ultimately terminate in a separation of the Colonies from the mother country. My second principle of revolution therefore, Madam, was *the justice and necessity of resisting the claims of Parliament of authority to impose internal taxes on the colonists, and to regulate their internal policy.*

3. In 1764 and 1765, Parliament had proceeded so far as to pass the Stamp Act, which was a more explicit avowal and a more complete exemplification of their claim and determination to impose internal taxes, and to govern our domestic affairs. In opposition to this Act, I employed all the means I possessed, in conversation and in writing, to animate the people. I published those papers in the "Boston Gazette," which were soon reprinted in London, under the title of a Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law, which, however inconsiderable they may now be very justly esteemed, had at that time a greater influence and effect among the people than many other writings of older and abler men, and of much greater merit. I called together the ancient, large, and populous town of Braintree, and procured an unanimous vote for those instructions to their representatives which were long known by the name of the Braintree Instructions. When the General Court met, the members produced their instructions; and I was informed forty towns were found to have adopted the Braintree Instructions *verbatim.*

The town of Boston, whose instructions were drawn by Mr. Samuel Adams, had, in the main essential point of all, adopted the sentiment and the very expressions of my instructions. And even the town of Plymouth, whose instructions were drawn by General Warren, had borrowed the same injunction and the same expressions. In the counties of Plymouth and Barnstable, where I had considerable business, and whose courts, especially in Ply-

mouth, I attended four or five times a year, I was instant, in season and out of season, in explaining to the people the nature of the claims which were set up against them, and in exciting them to opposition to the last extremity. This course I continued till 1774, when I was sent to Congress. This was so notorious to all parties that Southworth Howland used to say that, though none of his customers paid him better than Mr. Adams, yet he would cheerfully give him entertainment at his house for the assistance Mr. Adams gave him in his exertions to procure the election from year to year of his friend Colonel Warren. The same conduct I invariably held in the counties of Bristol, Worcester, Middlesex, Essex, York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, as well as Suffolk, and even in Duke's County, in all of which I had practice more or less. When the question came forward whether the courts of justice should proceed without stamped papers, I exerted myself to the utmost in all the counties, especially in Suffolk and Plymouth, to unite the bar in an unanimous resolution to urge the courts to proceed. In Plymouth it was no easy task. You know who were judges and who were lawyers at that time. Mr. Hovey, Mr. Clap, and Mr. Little of Scituate, and Mr. Johnson of Bridgewater, and Mr. Stockbridge of Hanover, you know were not very well affected, any more than the judges, to our cause or our connections. Yet, Mr. Robert Treat Paine cordially and zealously joining me, we called a meeting of the bar, and succeeded in obtaining an unanimous consent. Yet, Madam, notwithstanding all this and much more, you are pleased to insinuate in your History that I did not come forward till the first Congress in 1774. However, more of this hereafter. You see here that my third principle of revolution was, *the necessity of resistance to the Stamp Act.*

4. The Stamp Act was repealed, but the claim of Parliament was not relinquished. It was soon followed by other acts laying duties on tea, paints, &c., and, what was worse,

by a declaratory act asserting the unlimited authority of Parliament over us in all cases whatsoever. I became instantly as decisive and determined, and as industrious too, in opposition to these acts, as I ever had been to the Stamp Act. But, as I am not writing a history, I shall not enter into details. My fourth principle of revolution may be called, *the necessity of resistance to the Tea Act and the Declaratory Act.*

5. The country had been filled with rumors of designs of King, Ministry, or Parliament, or all together, to introduce into America, Bishops, Deans, and in short an English hierarchy. A great house, at that time thought to be a splendid palace, was built by Mr. Apthorp at Cambridge, and was supposed to be intended for the residence of the first Royal or Parliamentary Bishop. Although I had not a wish to restrain the liberty of conscience of any man or any denomination, I thought this innovation, if admitted, would be a complete surrender of the privileges of our charter, an entire concession of the authority of Parliament to legislate in our internal concerns. And, besides this, that only the most needy and perhaps vicious of the English clergy would be sent here, and become an ecclesiastical establishment, wholly under the influence of the ministry; increase the patronage of the Crown, become a political machine to establish the unlimited authority of Parliament, and introduce a flood of corruption in morals as well as politics. You may then set down for my fifth principle of revolution, the necessity of resisting the introduction of a Royal or Parliamentary establishment of an ecclesiastical hierarchy.

6. When Mr. Hutchinson's letters recommending an abridgment of English liberties, and Mr. Oliver's proposing a kind of nobility to be erected and established in America by Royal or Parliamentary authority, were brought to light, I thought this measure would annihilate all our privileges by charter, and establish the sover-

eign authority of Parliament in all our internal concerns. I entered therefore with zeal into an opposition to this scheme. And my sixth principle of revolution may be called, *the necessity of resisting the introduction of a Royal or Parliamentary nobility or aristocracy into the country.*

7. When an Act of Parliament was passed, authorizing the king to grant salaries to our Massachusetts judges; when the king had granted, and the judges, at least the Chief Justice, accepted them, I was more alarmed and aroused than ever I had been. This was laying the axe directly at the root of every thing that was dear to us. It was not only an annihilation of our charter, an establishment of the absolute sovereignty of Parliament, but it was a subjection of the lives and fortunes of us all to such judges as would for ever be the blind and corrupted tools of the British ministry.

In opposition to this measure, I wrote and published eight letters to General Brattle, which first turned the attention of the American people to this important subject, and diffused through the continent just principles and sentiments which have remained to this day, and I hope will remain to the end of time. The Massachusetts Legislature of the last year have done themselves great honor by remembering and respecting them.

Again, the people were astonished and confounded, knowing not what to do, nor how it was possible for them to escape from the snare. I am bold to say that I first put them upon the only measure which could relieve them, and which not only relieved them from dependent judges, but from dependence on Great Britain. I could name to you the house and the company in which I was asked by Dr. Winthrop and Dr. Cooper my opinion whether there was any possible remedy for us. My answer was, Yes. The question was instantly urged, What can it be? My answer was, "*An impeachment of the judges by the House*

of Representatives, before the Governor and Council." The company all agreed that this idea had never been before suggested; and they started twenty objections at once. We had no power of impeachment. The Governor and Council would not hear the impeachment, &c., &c. I referred to the powers and privileges of the charter, and the general doctrine and practice of impeachments of the Commons before the Lords in the Parliament of England, where the Commons were the grand inquest of the nation; that this power was considered as the highest power of the Commons, and the most essential to preserve the liberties of the nation and the balance of the Constitution. This conversation was forthwith spread among the members of the House. Major Hawley came to me directly to interrogate me about it; asked me many questions, and started many difficulties. I turned to the passages in the charter, and made him read them and consider them. I turned to Mr. Selden's "Judicature in Parliament," and made him read it, and several other law books in which the subject is treated, and pointed to the volumes of the State Trials in which he might read all the impeachments that had ever been tried in England, if he pleased. Mr. Robert Treat Paine came to me in the same perplexity, having heard that I had publicly given such an opinion; and I gave him the same reasons in support of it. I did the same to several other members. Major Hawley was determined to know the sentiments of others. He went to Cambridge and visited Judge Trowbridge, made the Judge read over with him the passages in the charter which I had read to him and made him read; mentioned the authority of Selden which he had read in my office, and some impeachments in the State Trials to which I had referred him. The Judge told him that he could not see how the charter or the authorities could be evaded. Impeachments were the rights of Englishmen! We were entitled to all those rights, and therefore must be to this.

The Judge related this to me afterwards, and said he "saw I was determined to explore every resource in the Constitution to support my cause." The Tories considered this impeachment as the hinge on which the independence of America turned. When the impeachment was prepared in the committee, Major Hawley, without whom nothing could be done in the House, would not take a step without me; insisted on my meeting with the committee, which I did at my own house till twelve or one o'clock at night. I have been informed by an ear-witness that Chief Justice Oliver, in England, since the independence of America was acknowledged by Great Britain, has said that John Adams was the author of that impeachment, and consequently the author of independence, as he said; and expressed much ill-humor against me in consequence of it.

Notwithstanding this, Mrs. Warren, you are pleased in your History to say I first came forward in 1774. I need not detail to you the consequences of that impeachment in all the counties of the State. My seventh principle of revolution, therefore, may be set down as, *the necessity of the independence of the judges.*

8. Governor Hutchinson, in a speech to the General Court, undertook to demonstrate to all the world the supreme, absolute, unlimited sovereignty of the British Parliament over the Colonies in all cases whatsoever. The House of Representatives undertook to answer him. But Mr. Hancock, Mr. Cushing, Mr. Samuel Adams, Colonel James Warren, and all their particular connections in the House, could carry no point in the House upon any legal or constitutional question without the concurrence of Major Hawley; and Major Hawley would agree to nothing till he had consulted John Adams, and made the committee consult him too.

He accordingly insisted that I should be invited to meet with the committee, and give my opinion and reasons upon every question. I was accordingly invited, and in

such urgent terms that I could not in common civility refuse to comply. I met with the committee accordingly.

A draught had been prepared for them, made as I then supposed by Mr. Samuel Adams; but I have since heard it was by Dr. Joseph Warren. It was very prettily written, but filled with that silly democratical nonsense which at that time, and ever since, has poisoned so many of our newspapers, and produced such a black catalogue of horrors in the French Revolution. . . . I reasoned, I pleaded, I declaimed with the committee till I convinced them of the many errors, and induced them to expunge them; and, instead of them, introduced that discussion from legal and constitutional authorities which was adopted by the committee, and with astonishing unanimity in the House, and which convinced the whole people of North America, and the whole scientific world, that by law and constitution Parliament had no authority over us in any case whatsoever. My eighth principle of revolution was, *the necessity of denying in theory, upon all legal and constitutional grounds, the authority of Parliament over us in any case whatsoever.*

9. But while we continued connected with Great Britain, which we all of us still wished, it appeared to me necessary that we should voluntarily consent that Parliament should regulate the trade of the empire. I accordingly always contended for this point, and was never opposed in it by any of my associates. Afterwards, in Congress, we found this the most difficult point to manage; and I drew up the article respecting it in the Bill of Rights of 1774, which was finally acquiesced in unanimously. My ninth principle of revolution, then, was to allow Great Britain the power of regulating our external trade.

10. But all these reasonings, discussions, and concessions availed us nothing. The British King, Ministry, Parliament, and Nation would pay no regard to any thing.

If you will please, Madam, to look into the journal of the first Congress in 1774, in the month of September and the 7th day of the month, you will find that Congress appointed two committees, — one to state the rights of the Colonies, and another to state the violations of those rights. You will also find that I was upon the first committee. And I will now inform you of what does not appear on the journal. After ample discussions in the committee at large, consisting of two members from each Colony, a sub-committee was appointed to prepare a draught of a report. I was one of this sub-committee, in which the whole ground was reviewed and all the points deliberately re-examined, and after this I was appointed alone to draw up the result. From these facts, it may, I presume, without any *pride of talent*, be fairly inferred that, in the opinion of Congress, the general committee, and the sub-committee, I understood the subject, and was likely to express the sense of the continent as exactly as any of them. I accordingly drew the report, which was accepted, first by the sub-committee, then by the general committee, and last of all by Congress.

The Declaration and Resolves you will find in the same volume, page 27, on Friday, October 14, 1774. They contain all the solid principles which nearly two years afterwards were inserted in the Declaration of Independence. In these Resolves, you will find many of my principles of revolution, particularly the fifth and sixth, which were at that time principles of every member of Congress and of the whole continent.

The fifth Resolve is, "That the respective Colonies are entitled to the *common law of England*, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law." The sixth Resolve is, "That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they have by

experience respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances."

The tenth Resolve is, "*It is indispensably necessary to good government*, and rendered essential by the English Constitution, that the *constituent branches* of the Legislature be independent of each other."

The tenth principle of revolution embraced by me was, *the necessity of preserving the common law, the useful statutes, and the independence of the constituent branches of the Legislature.* This principle, or rather these three principles, I have heartily embraced and strenuously defended for more than fifty years, without one moment's doubt of the truth, utility, or necessity of them. Who then, Madam, has forgotten the principles of the Revolution?

11. When, after fifteen years' exertion of all my faculties, and the faculties of all my friends, to bring the English nation to hearken to reason and respect justice, on the 19th of April, 1775, I found hostilities commenced, and the blood of our citizens barbarously spilt, I concluded what I had long foreseen,—that we must resist in arms the whole force of the British empire. I thought it weak, pusillanimous, and dangerous to resist by halves. I went to Congress, prepared to seize every British officer in America, and hold him as a hostage for the security of the people of Boston, then imprisoned in the town, and all other persons who might have the misfortune to fall into British hands; to recommend to the people of all the States immediately to institute governments by their own original power, and authorize Congress to declare the States independent, and then enter into negotiations with England concerning terms of peace, but in the mean time to exert all the force of the continent to resist the British forces by sea and land. This system I advocated with the members of Congress, in the House and out of doors, and more than half that body were of my mind,

till Mr. Dickinson, aided by the Quakers and proprietary gentlemen of Pennsylvania, prevailed on Mr. John Rutledge, of South Carolina, to depart from his first opinion and go over to the other side, and he carried with him a majority in Congress.

My eleventh principle of revolution, then, may be called, *a total but temporary independence, without any foreign connections, to be surrendered again by treaty, in case safety and liberty and peace could be obtained upon honorable terms.*

12. When our petition failed a second time, and I found we must go through a long war, I thought it folly to hesitate any longer, and a total separation of the two countries for ever was become necessary and inevitable. I accordingly exerted all the talents I had, feeble as they were, both in doors and out, to prevail on Congress to recommend to the States to institute governments, to declare the country independent, and to seek commercial connections, not entangling alliances, with foreign powers. I thought our country fully adequate to the contest with Britain, without embarrassing ourselves with future European wars. I thought that our commerce was reward enough to allure France, Spain, and Holland to countenance and befriend us; and I knew that France and Spain then dreaded the naval power of the United British Empire to such a degree that I thought it impossible they should let slip the opportunity of striking one pistol at least out of the hand of an enemy who constantly threatened them with two.

My twelfth principle of revolution, then, was *independence, absolute and perpetual, not only of England, but of France, Spain, Holland, and all other nations of the earth.*

Others entangled us with France, not I, the whole history of which I could detail; but it is not necessary here.

Independence was declared; Congress recommended to the States to set up governments; treaties of commerce and friendship were offered to foreign powers. In short, the Revolution was complete and perfect. And these were my principles, and no other. During all this time, no form of government had been recommended to any State, nor had any confederation or national constitution been adopted by Congress.

It was not until October and November, 1777, more than a year after the Declaration of Independence and the perfect accomplishment of the Revolution, that Congress deliberated seriously on the articles of the confederation, though a report of their committee had laid some time on their table. I was present through all these debates, and took a share in them; but the system adopted was so poor, so superficial, so ill digested a thing that I had no satisfaction in it, and more than once declared to Congress in my place that it could govern none of the States, that it could not hold the American people together, and that it would not exist ten years. Two years passed away after Congress recommended it, before the States adopted it in 1781, and it lived only to 1789.

But in this confederation there was no recommendation of any particular form of government to the separate States. An hereditary monarchy and nobility might have been erected by every State in the Union, if they had pleased; so might an absolute monarchy, or even a despotism; so might a simple democracy, a simple aristocracy, a simple monarchy, or any mixture of all of them. No State, no man, was pledged to adopt or advocate any form of government whatever. The States accordingly did as they pleased, and there was a great variety in the plans they did adopt. Pennsylvania adopted her *man-trap;* for it deserved the name of that insidious instrument of punishment and cruelty, much more than that of a free Republican government. Accordingly, the partisans of it

assumed the name of Constitutionalists, and gave or left the name of Republicans to their antagonists. Vermont and Georgia were *left* to imitate and adopt this miserable abortion, which fell dead almost from its birth. Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Maryland all erected different governments. Massachusetts erected none till 1780, four years after the Revolution terminated. During these four years, we continued to govern according to a Royal British Charter. Connecticut and Rhode Island have done the same to this day, full thirty-one years after the end of the Revolution. New Hampshire contrived a few variations from Massachusetts; so did New Jersey from New York and Pennsylvania both. I say again that resistance to innovation and the unlimited claims of Parliament, and not any particular new form of government, was the object of the Revolution. We all acknowledged the right of the people to frame their own governments, and we knew they would not think of any other than Republican governments. The most of us, and myself among the rest, neither wished or thought of introducing any other; nor have I wished for any other to this moment.

We were not unanimous, however. Mr. Nelson, afterwards Governor of Virginia, and a favorite of the people, and really a very worthy man, declared to Congress in his place that he should vote for independence, because he knew it was the sense of his constituents, but that he was against it in his own private judgment, because he knew the people would institute Republican governments, and for his part he acknowledged that he *dreaded and abhorred Republican governments.*

The first appearance of a national stipulation in favor of Republican government was in the Constitution of the United States, in which a Republican constitution was guaranteed to the several States. It may perhaps be a sufficient recommendation of this article to say that it was introduced by Mr. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina;

and he ought to have the glory of it. But I confess I never understood it, and I believe no other man ever did or ever will. A Republican government is a government of more than one. The word Republic has been used, it is true, by learned men, to signify every actual and every possible government among men,—that of Constantinople as well as that of Geneva. But the most accurate writers distinguish republics from despotisms and simple monarchies, and call every government by that name in which more than one person is concerned in the sovereignty; and in this sense the kingdoms of Sparta, Poland, and England were republics as truly as San Marino. Venice, Holland, and other States were universally called Republics both by the learned and unlearned; yet the people in these States had certainly no more liberty than those of England or France. The most accurate distinction, then, has been between free republics and republics which are not free. It is not even said in our Constitution that the people shall be guaranteed in a free republican government. The word is so loose and indefinite that successive predominant factions will put glosses and constructions upon it as different as light and darkness; and if ever there should be a civil war, which Heaven forbid, the conquering General in all his triumphs may establish a military despotism, and yet call it a constitutional republic, as Napoleon has already set him the example. The only effect of it that I could ever see is to deceive the people; and this practice my heart abhors, my head disapproves, and my tongue and my pen have ever avoided. I am no Pharisee, Jesuit, or Macchiavelian.

Now, Madam, in the name of justice, truth, friendship, and honor, I demand of you to show me when and where and how I have relinquished the Republican system, and what principle of the American Revolution I have forgotten?

The grave and solemn philosophical reflections which

follow in this and in page 393 are calculated to give more formality and a more aggravated character to the gloomy defamation in the paragraphs I have been confuting.

I am very sorry, Madam, you have laid me under the necessity of fatiguing you with these tedious letters. But, as I have begun, I must pursue the subject to the end. It will not be long before you will receive another letter from your injured friend,

J. Adams.

Mrs. Mercy Warren.

No. 3.

JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

Quincy, July 27, 1807.

Dear Madam, — In the 131st and 132d page of the first volume of your History, you are pleased to say that John Adams, one of the negatived councillors, a barrister at law, of rising abilities, his appearance on the theatre of politics commenced at this period; that is, in 1774.

This is of very little importance, and would not be worthy of much attention, if it did not betray a malignity of heart and a disposition to lessen me as much as you could in the opinion of your readers, both in present and future times, which runs through your whole History, and is grossly inconsistent with all the former *principles and professions* both of yourself and your husband, from the year 1761, as all his and your letters abundantly testify. These letters are not lost.

A man never looks so silly as when he is talking or writing concerning himself; but Mrs. Warren's severity has reduced me to the necessity of pouring out all myself as plain as downright Shippen or as old Montaigne. Does Mrs. Warren consider the House of Representatives as the only theatre of politics? Were not the courts of justice at that time, both superior and inferior, theatres of poli-

tics? Were not the Courts of Admiralty, general and special, theatres of politics? Were not the towns and their meetings theatres of politics? Were not the presses theatres of politics? Was not the Council Chamber, with the Governor and Council sitting in it, a theatre of politics? Was not every fireside, indeed, a theatre of politics?

If Mrs. Warren considered the House of Representatives as the only theatre of politics, she ought to have remembered that I was chosen and acted as representative for the town of Boston, in the year 1770, four years before she allows me to have appeared on the theatre; and she ought to have remembered, too, that I drew up the political papers, and conducted the controversy with the Governor in that year. She ought to have remembered, too, that I was chosen into his Majesty's Council in 1773, and negatived by Governor Hutchinson; and again in 1774, and negatived by Governor Gage. Mrs. Warren might have remembered that I made the only report of her brother's argument in the great question of writs of assistance in 1761, which would have been forgotten, but is now recorded in history as the first appearance of a controversy which terminated only with the American Revolution. I was sworn at the bar in Boston in 1758; and from that time I became intimately acquainted with your brother and Mr. Thacher, both of whom treated me to the hour of their deaths like a brother more than like a son. In 1761, I was sworn and admitted as a barrister; and, as this was the year in which writs of assistance and symptoms of revolution made their first appearance in the world, I took so decided and so active a part on the side of my country that I will venture to say that your brother and Mr. Thacher, too, considered me, as long as they lived, one of the most confidential friends they had upon earth.

Mrs. Warren, too, might have remembered my public writings. These no doubt will now appear mean. They

always appeared so to me. But, mean as they were, they had their effects. Indeed, all the political writings of those times appear of little consequence at this day. Mr. Dickinson's Farmer's Letters, Mr. Otis's writings, and even those of Dr. Mayhew, have lost their interest, though they were then enthusiastically admired. Some of my poor scribbles were not only felt here, but were remarked by the friends of America in England. They were reprinted there in various forms, and excited so much curiosity among the friends of liberty that Mrs. Macaulay wrote to the daughter of Mr. Prince, a very learned lady in Boston, to inquire who was the writer of them. Mr. Hollis wrote to Dr. Elliot to make the same inquiry. Both of them inquired and answered. I was chosen, too, a member of the Society of the Bill of Rights; and Mr. Burgh sent me a present of his three volumes of Political Disquisitions. In 1772 and 1773, or in 1773 and 1774, two years, I am not certain which, I draughted the instructions to their representatives for the town of Boston, which you will find in the "Gazette" of those years, and were then considered as important State papers. She might have recalled the Braintree instructions too. A barrister at law, travelling with the circuits into all the counties of the State, and there was not one county in it in which I had not appeared and practised; conversant with all sorts of people, clients, parties, witnesses, grand jurors, petit jurors, as well as justices and judges, whose sentiments were well known to all parties; constantly arguing in public and private in favor of the public cause, and who was always heard with attention, — could not fail of being universally known and having extensive influence. You may judge of the opinion of our opponents by a saying of Chief Justice Oliver, at Plymouth.

This magistrate always made of his charge to the grand jury a vehement harangue upon politics. Highly complimented one day by his friends on the profound wisdom

and irresistible eloquence of his speech, and upon the great impression it had made on the people, he answered, "Ah! notwithstanding all that, Mr. John Adams has nothing to do but to go upon *the green* among the people, and say it is all equivocal and evasive, to destroy the whole effect of it."

This same Chief Justice Oliver, who loved me no better than Mr. Otis, used to say long before I was a representative, when he heard any one speak in admiration of your brother's great talents at the bar, that there was another gentleman at the bar of the same political principles, Mr. J. Adams, who was much better read in law than Otis, and a more agreeable speaker. Your brother Otis has often said, in Boston and Barnstable, I know, and in Plymouth, I believe, many years before I was a Representative, that John Adams would one day be the greatest man in North America. These were all extravagant hyperboles, but they serve to show that I was not an obscure person from 1761 to 1774. In 1765, I was chosen by the town of Boston, though not an inhabitant, together with Mr. Gridley and Mr. Otis, to appear before the Governor and Council, in favor of an order to the courts of justice to proceed in business without stamped papers. Mrs. Warren might have remembered, too, that Deacon Foster was a formidable rival to General Warren from his first election to the General Court, and that I was an active and zealous electioneering friend every year.

Add to this that in 1775 I was appointed Chief Justice of the State by the *unanimous* vote of that Council, which held the executive power as well as a branch in the Legislature. Your honored father, Colonel Otis, and that very Doctor Winthrop whose character you have so highly and so justly distinguished with honor, and Judge Seaver, of Kingston, your venerable brother-in-law, were members of that body. Such characters as these would not have ventured to intrust the most important office in the State

to any man who had not been long known to the body of the people, and fully confided in for his inflexible attachment to the public cause, as well as for his integrity and qualifications to discharge its duties.

All these little anecdotes, you will say, are proofs of my "pride of talent." Be it so: make the most you can of them, Mrs. Warren. But we shall have more to say concerning this pride of talent. They serve at least to prove that I ought to have been considered in your History as a figure on the stage from 1761 to 1774, call it the figure of a doorkeeper, a livery servant, a dancer, a singer, or a harlequin, if you will; but I ought not to have been shoved off the theatre and kept behind the screen for fourteen years. This is surely more than enough, Madam, on this trifling subject. I conclude then as yet your

Old friend and servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

MRS. MERCY WARREN.

No. 2.

MRS. MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS.

PLYMOUTH, MASS., July 28, 1807.

JOHN ADAMS, Esq.

SIR, — Before I had an opportunity to forward my reply to yours of July 11th, I received another letter under date July 20th, containing twenty pages, in which so many demands are made and so many threats denounced that a total silence might be construed dismay.

My thread of existence in this evanescent state is too far spent for me again to enter on political discussion; yet I think it my duty to observe upon this letter, so far as is necessary to vindicate my own veracity, and to confute the unfounded charges contained therein, and repel the assertions that my pen has been guided by a malignant heart.

You have observed in your letter of July 11th that "*in the spirit of friendship*" you shall select passages "relative to yourself, without attending to order, but take them up as they occur by accident." I perhaps may do the same thing, yet wish to be a little more methodical; therefore, I advert to the first time I have mentioned you in my historic work. You have grievously complained that you have been so long neglected, and that your appearance on the theatre of politics was not recorded until the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four. Perhaps it would not have been done so early, had it not been for the extraordinary exigencies of the times, when I thought it would be an honor to Mr. Adams or any other man to be mentioned on the list of Governor Gage's negatived councillors. In this list, the names of Governor Bowdoin, Doctor Winthrop, Colonel Otis, and Mr. John Adams, were particularly designated as "distinguished for their attachment to the ancient Constitution, and their decided opposition to the present ministerial measures."

In the page complained of, 131, Vol. I., it may be observed there are only four lines relative to Mr. Bowdoin, seven to Dr. Winthrop, one to Colonel Otis, and four to John Adams, Esq. It may be noticed there is only one line of my own father at this period, and no more than nine throughout the whole work, though his abilities, his firmness, and his long services to his country were universally acknowledged. He had been a councillor for many years, and was very eminent as a professional man, as a patriot, and as a Christian, yet is only incidentally and concisely mentioned by his daughter, as have been many other gentlemen without any charges of partiality or malignancy.

I am so much at a loss for the meaning of very many of your paragraphs, and the rambling manner in which your angry and indigested letters are written, that I scarcely know where to begin my remarks.

I never had a wish to enter into a discussion of your motives of action while President of the United States, nor to give a particular detail of an Administration that rendered you unpopular indeed. This may be done by some one of that large majority of the people whose suffrages removed you from Presidential rank and placed another in the chair. I have frequently vindicated you as acting with honest intentions, however you might have been mistaken, or have varied from some gentlemen possessed of equal abilities, honor, and honesty, with yourself. Had not Mr. Adams been suffering under suspicions that his fame had not been sufficiently attended to, or that his character was not invulnerable, he would not have put such a perverse construction on every passage where he is named in a work in which the author aimed to do him complete justice.

A striking instance of this appears when you say, "The grave and solemn philosophical reflections in this and page 393, Vol. III., are calculated to give more formality and a more aggravated character to the gloomy defamation in several paragraphs." My soul shrinks from such a charge. The solemn or philosophical reflections annexed to the paragraphs where his change of sentiment has been mentioned were designed to throw a charitable veil over the general weakness of human nature, and to extenuate Mr. Adams's conduct where the writer thought political errors and deviations had been apparent.

I shall, however, answer such parts of your letter, notwithstanding its prolixity, in a manner that may or ought to restore your tranquillity. If it does not, it will exculpate me from the imputation of "falsehood or malignancy."

You complain that I have asserted that a partiality for monarchy appeared in your conduct. This fact you deny, and entreat me to bring forward the evidences which I suppose will warrant the assertion.

The assertion was not founded on vague rumor, nor was it the result of any scattered and dubious expressions

through your Defence of the American Constitutions that might warrant such a suspicion, but from my own judgment and observation soon after your return from Europe in the year 1788. There certainly was then an observable alteration in your whole deportment and conversation. Many of your best friends saw, felt, and regretted it.

If time has not weakened your memory, you will recollect many instances of it yourself. I will remind you of a few. Do you not remember an interview at Cambridge soon after your return from England, when his lady and myself met you walking up to Mr. Gerry's? We stopped the carriage, and informed you that Mrs. Gerry and myself were engaged to take tea with Madam Winthrop. You returned and took tea with us at the house of that excellent lady. You will remember that Mr. Gerry's carriage was sent for me in the edge of the evening. You took a seat with me, and returned to Mr. Gerry's. Do you not recollect, sir, that in the course of conversation on the way you replied thus to something that I had observed? —

"It does not signify, Mrs. Warren, to talk much of the virtue of Americans. We are like all other people, and shall do like other nations, where all well-regulated governments are monarchic." I well remember my own reply, — "that a limited monarchy might be the best government, but that it would be long before Americans would be reconciled to the idea of a king."

Do you not recollect that, a very short time after this, Mr. Warren and myself made you a visit at Braintree? The previous conversation, in the evening, I do not so distinctly remember; but in the morning, at breakfast at your own table, the conversation on the subject of monarchy was resumed. Your ideas appeared to be favorable to monarchy, and to an order of nobility in your own country. Mr. Warren replied, "I am thankful that I am a plebeian." You answered: "No, sir: you are one of the

nobles. There has been a national aristocracy here ever since the country was settled, — your family at Plymouth, Mrs. Warren's at Barnstable, and many others in very many places that have kept up a distinction similar to nobility." This conversation subsided by a little mirth.

Do you not remember that, after breakfast, you and Mr. Warren stood up by the window, and conversed on the situation of the country, on the Southern States, and some principal characters there? You, with a degree of passion, exclaimed, "They must have a master;" and added, by a stamp with your foot, "By God, they shall have a master." In the course of the same evening, you observed that you "wished to see a monarchy in this country, and an hereditary one too." To this you say I replied as quick as lightning, "And so do I too." If I did, which I do not remember, it must have been with some additional stroke which rendered it a sarcasm. You added with a considerable degree of emotion that you hated frequent elections, that they were the ruin of the morals of the people, that when a youth you had seen more iniquity practised at a town meeting for the purpose of electing officers, than you had ever seen in any of the courts in Europe.

Those conversations were not disseminated by me, — we were too much hurt by the apparent change of sentiment and manner: they were concealed in our own bosoms until time should develope the result of such a change in such a man. Is not the above sufficient to warrant every thing that I have said relative to your monarchic opinions? Had you recollected the conversations alluded to above, you would not have asserted on your faith and honor that every sentiment in a paragraph you refer to is "totally unfounded."

On your return from Europe, it was generally thought that you looked coldly on your Republican friends and their families, and that you united yourself with the party

in Congress who were favorers of monarchy; that the old Tories, denominating themselves Federalists, gathered round you. And did not your administration while in the Presidential chair evince that you had no aversion to the usages of monarchic governments? Sedition, stamp, and alien laws, a standing army, house and land taxes, and loans of money at an enormous interest, were alarming symptoms in the American Republic. Your removal from the chair by the free suffrages of a majority of the people of the United States sufficiently evinces that I was not mistaken when I asserted that "a large portion" of the inhabitants of America from New Hampshire to Georgia viewed your political opinions in the same point of light in which I have exhibited them, and considered their liberties in imminent danger, without an immediate change of the Chief Magistrate. However, I never supposed that you had a wish to submit again to the monarchy of Great Britain, or to become subjugated to any foreign sovereign. An American monarchy with an American Character at its head would, doubtless, have been more pleasing to yourself. The veracity of an historian is his strongest base; and I am sure I have recorded nothing but what I thought I had the highest reason to believe. If I have been mistaken, I shall be forgiven; and, if there are errors, they will be candidly viewed by liberal-minded and generous readers.

If you have a copy, as doubtless you have, I advise you to re-peruse the fourth and fifth pages of your letter of July 20th, when I think, in a cooler moment, you will be ashamed of the very angry and virulent expressions, poured with the rapidity of a cataract, against Mr. Warren, myself, and my family. You there say that Mr. Warren in a conversation with Mr. Samuel Adams once charged you with corruption. If he did, which I very much doubt, he did not charge you as being corrupted by British gold. But, if he thought the pure principles of republicanism were contaminated in your breast, it is not strange that a man of his integrity and

uniformity should regret it, and express in any manner he thought proper his surprise at so unexpected a change. When you say, "Corruption is a charge that you cannot and will not bear," Mr. Warren is not shaken by your angry epithets or vindictive resolutions. Your ebullitions of passion may pass by without disturbing his tranquillity.

But why is Mrs. Warren so indecently attacked? You ask her, in this petulant page, what you are to think of her History? I answer by asking another question, which it has been said is common among New Englanders, — What is Mrs. Warren to think of your comments? I readily tell you: she thinks them the most captious, malignant, irrelevant compositions that have ever been seen among criticisms, from Zoilus to the Sage of Mount Wollaston. If you can infer from a history so impartially and candidly written, that myself or my family have been the propagators of all the ridiculous stuff you mention previous to Mr. Jefferson's election, I believe you are the only man in the United States that would draw such an absurd conclusion.

You have asked, "Am I to attribute to the Warren family the honor that was done me, in the back parts of Pennsylvania and in Kentucky, of being hanged in effigy by the side of Mr. Jay, with a purse of English guineas in my hand?" Be assured, sir, the Warren family have said or done little about you for many years, and I believe have generally observed a great degree of delicacy when they have occasionally thought it necessary to mention your name; nor did they ever hear of the royal alliances of your children, the stories of the German boors or the burning in effigy, until you detailed them in not a very *polite letter* to Mrs. Warren.

There is a long list of items in your letter of July 27th, just come to hand, which you say Mrs. Warren ought to have remembered. I do remember your writings previous

to the year 1774, as well as those of Dr. Mayhew, Mr. Dickinson, and Mr. Otis, all of which had a happy effect in our country, and will never be forgotten, though no historian may take them up in detail. I do remember my first acquaintance with you, which commenced a short time previous to the Stamp Act. I do remember an increasing regard and esteem of myself and my husband towards a young gentleman who appeared to be warmly attached to the rights of America, and well qualified to assist in bringing forward her independence, if necessity should impel the effort. But I do not remember that my brother James Otis ever predicted, as you assert he did, that "John Adams would one day be the greatest man in North America."

But I well remember the critical period when your friends at the Plymouth fireside, where you have spent many a pleasant hour, first named and brought you forward as a suitable character for a councillor. The project succeeded to our wishes, and Dr. Winthrop and yourself came in together through the influence of a *friend*, — a friend who was very sensible of your capacity and abilities for rendering service to your country, but among his many respectable acquaintance of that day he had not anticipated, nor do I believe that any of them had, that "Mr. Adams would one day be the greatest man in North America."

The frequent negative of men of merit by the royal Governors Hutchinson and Gage, and yourself marked among them, led me to think it a proper period to introduce you as then on a public theatre which would exhibit to the world the most important and interesting events.

But I do not remember that ever Mr. Warren stood in need of your assistance to promote his popularity against Deacon Foster or any other man. There was not a man who more generally possessed the confidence of the people of the Massachusetts for very many years than Mr.

Warren; nor is there one in the United States who has been more uniform in his conduct and more faithful to the interests of his country than this gentleman, whose long services are recollected with gratitude by most of his cotemporaries.

You also remind me of the long and friendly correspondence that subsisted between us for many years. I well remember the warm and affectionate expressions of regard on account of your talents, patriotism, and friendship at that time. These letters, you observe, are not lost. I have never been ashamed of them: neither are your former letters lost; nor do I intend your more recent ones shall ever be lost; they shall be safely deposited for future use, if occasion shall require it.

I have attended to several of the grievances complained of in the long and laborious letter before me, and have noticed some unimportant things in a letter which immediately followed; but I must be excused from entering on a discussion of your principles of the American Revolution, or whether you have or have not ever appeared to "have relinquished" the Republican system. This subject comprises fourteen pages of yours, and as I can see no pleasure or benefit in dwelling on such a theme, or following a thread spun out to such a length, it shall not at present be attempted by

MERCY WARREN.

No. 4.

JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

QUINCY, July 28, 1807.

DEAR MADAM, — In the 135th page of your second volume, you state that in 1778 Mr. John Adams, of the State of Massachusetts, was chosen to succeed Mr. Deane as commissioner in behalf of the United States at the

Court of France; an inaccuracy, however, of so little importance that it was scarcely worth a correction.

In the 139th page, you say that within a few months after Congress made a new arrangement of ministers, and Mr. Adams had been sent on in the room of Mr. Deane, both Mr. Adams and Mr. Lee were directed to repair immediately to America, and Dr. Franklin was appointed sole minister at the Court of France. My Commission is dated November 27, 1777. Your information, Madam, is incorrect. Dr. Franklin was, indeed, in little more than a year afterwards, appointed sole minister at the Court of France. But neither Mr. Adams nor Mr. Lee was directed to repair to America. Mr. Lee had a Commission to the Court of Spain, which still remained in force; and therefore, so far from being directed to return, he could not return without a breach of duty. He had still negotiations to carry on with the Spanish Court, and possessed the means of subsistence at least in his own hands, for Spain had advanced him a sum of money.

Mr. Adams was left in an awkward situation. He was neither directed to return to America nor to stay in Europe; nor was he furnished with the means of subsistence, nor even with those of bearing his expenses of a journey to a seaport or paying for his passage home in a merchant ship. The cause of this neglect was the division in Congress, which made it almost impossible to do any thing or pass any vote in their foreign affairs. If I had been directed home, as Mrs. Warren affirms, and a passage offered me in the "Alliance" frigate, and provision made for my very moderate necessary expenses in the journey and voyage, my mind would have been in paradise. I had no reason to complain of the annihilation of my Commission, and the appointment of Dr. Franklin alone; for I had previously recommended both these measures, and they had been adopted by my advice, as the following letter will show.

I had not been two months in France before the disputes between the two American parties became so well known to me, and their violence had arisen to such rancor, that whatever was done or said by Dr. Franklin, or by me when I agreed with him in opinion, was censured and often misrepresented by one party, and whatever was done or said by Mr. Izzard, Mr. Lee, and by me when I thought they were in the right, was at least equally censured and misrepresented by the other.

I was so thoroughly disgusted with the service, and so fully convinced that our whole system was wrong, and that ruin to our affairs abroad and great danger and confusion in those at home must be the consequence of it, that I thought it my indispensable duty to represent my ideas in America. To Congress I had no justification to write but in conjunction with my colleagues. It was impossible that we could agree in any thing. I therefore determined to write to a confidential friend in Congress, who I knew would communicate it to others, who might make such use of it as the public good might require.

I accordingly wrote to Mr. Samuel Adams as follows: —

Passy, May 21, 1778.

My dear Sir, — I have never yet paid my respects to you since my arrival in Europe, for which seeming neglect of duty the total novelty of the scenes about me, and the incessant avocations of business and ceremony and pleasure (for this last I find in Europe makes an essential part of both the other two), must plead my excuse.

The situation of the general affairs of Europe is still critical and of dubious tendency. It is still uncertain whether there will be war between the Turks and Russians, between the Emperor and the King of Prussia, and indeed between England and France, in the opinion of many people. My own conjecture, however, is that a war will commence, and that soon.

Before this reaches you, you will be informed that a strong squadron of thirteen capital ships and several frigates has sailed from Toulon, and that another squadron is ordered to sail from Spithead. Whatever I may have heard of the destination of the first, I am not at liberty to mention it. We have yet no intelligence that the latter has sailed.

Chatham the great is no more; but there is so much of his wild spirit in his last speech yet left in the nation, that I have no doubt but Administration will put all to the hazard.

We are happy to hear by the frigate "La Sensible," which has returned to Brest, that the Treaty arrived safe at Casco Bay. We hope to have the earliest intelligence of the ratification of it. The commissioners from England, who sailed about the 22d of April, will meet, as we suppose, with nothing but ridicule.

Prussia is yet upon the reserve concerning America, or rather, forgetting his promise, has determined not to acknowledge our independence at present. His reason is obvious. He wants the aid of those very German Princes who are most subservient to Great Britain, who have furnished her with troops to carry on the war against us, and therefore he does not choose to offend them by an alliance with us at present.

Spain is on the reserve, too; but there is not the least doubt entertained here of her intentions to support America. In Holland, there is more friendship for us than I was aware before I came here. At least, they will take no part against us.

Our affairs in this kingdom I find in a state of confusion and darkness that surprises me. Prodigious sums of money have been expended, and large sums are yet due; but there are no books of accounts, or any documents from whence I have been able to learn what the United States have received as an equivalent.

There is one subject which lies heavily on my mind, and that is the expense of the commissioners. You have three commissioners at this court, each of whom lives at an expense of at least three thousand pounds sterling a year, — I fear at a greater expense. Few men in this world are capable of living at a less expense than I am, but I find the other gentlemen have expended from three to four thousands a year each, and one of them from five to six; and, by all the inquiries I have been able to make, I cannot find any article of expense which can be retrenched.

The truth is, in my humble opinion, our system is wrong in many particulars. 1. In having three commissioners at this court. One, in the character of envoy, is enough. At present, each of the three is considered in the character of a public minister, a minister plenipotentiary, which lays him under an absolute necessity of living up to that character, whereas one alone would be obliged to no greater expense, and would be quite sufficient for all the business of a public minister. 2. In leaving the salaries of these ministers at an uncertainty. You will never be able to obtain a satisfactory account of the public moneys while this system continues. It is a temptation to live at too great an expense, and gentlemen will feel an aversion to demanding a rigorous account. 3. In blending the business of a public minister with that of a commercial agent. The businesses of various departments are by this means so blended, and the public and private expenses so confounded with each other, that I am sure no satisfaction can ever be given to the public of the disposition of their interests; and I am very confident that jealousies and suspicions will hereafter arise against the characters of gentlemen who may perhaps have acted with perfect integrity and the fairest intentions for the public good.

My idea is this: Separate the offices of public ministers

from those of commercial agents. Recall, or send to some other courts, all the public ministers but one at this court. Determine, with precision, the sum that shall be allowed to the remaining one for his expenses and for his salary, — *i. e.*, for his time, risk, trouble, &c.; and, when this is done, see that he receives no more than his allowance.

The inconveniences arising from the multiplicity of ministers and the complication of businesses are infinite.

Remember me, with the most tender affections, to my worthy colleagues, and to all others to whom you know they are due.

I am your friend and servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

The Honorable SAMUEL ADAMS.

This letter was received by Mr. Adams in due season, and by him communicated to Mr. Richard Henry Lee and others. Mr. R. H. Lee wrote immediately to me that he had seen it, and was entirely of my opinion.

It was communicated to so many members of Congress that it produced the revolution which followed; my friends and the friends of Mr. Arthur Lee uniting with those of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane and Mr. Izard in introducing the new plan.

The representation in my letter of the expenses of the commissioners related only to the state of things before my arrival. My expenses were very trifling. I had no house rent to pay separate from Dr. Franklin. I kept no carriage, and used none but that of Dr. Franklin, and then only when he had no use for it. I had very little company more than Dr. Franklin would have had, if I had not been there. But, before my arrival, Mr. Deane had his house and furniture and establishment of servants, as well as his carriage, in Paris, and another establishment for his apartments in the country, at Passy, and another

carriage, set of horses, and servants, besides his libertine expenses. Mr. Lee had a house, furniture, carriage, and organization of servants, at Chaillot. Dr. Franklin had his in the Basse Court de Monsieur Le Ray de Chaumont, the ancient Hôtel de Valentinois, — at what rent I never could discover, because Mr. Chaumont would never tell; but, from the magnificence of the place, it was universally expected to be enormously high. Making the best estimate I could from the representations that were made to me, I wrote as I then believed. But after a longer residence, more experience, and further inquiry, I was convinced that I had admitted much exaggeration into the account. Nevertheless, the expenses of Mr. Deane never have been known, and I presume never can be known.

From these papers, Madam, you will see that Americans may easily investigate the necessity, not of the sudden recall of Mr. Adams and Mr. Lee, for they were not recalled, but of the change of the plan of our affairs abroad, and Mr. Franklin's appointment as sole minister.

In page 140 of the 2d volume, you say that "Mr. Adams returned rather disgusted at the early revocation of his Commission, and the unexpected order thus speedily to leave the Court of France." But you see, Madam, that the revocation of his Commission had been solicited by himself, was fully expected by him, and did not, indeed, arrive so soon as he expected it. The order to leave the Court of France never arrived at all. The truth is, it was not the intention of Congress that he should return. Mr. Samuel Adams and others told me it was the intention to send me to Holland, and that nobody had the least idea that I would return till I heard farther from Congress.

I had taken pains to persuade my colleagues to take a house in Paris, and have but one establishment for us all.

Mr. Lee, whose opinion was that we ought to live in Paris, readily consented; but Dr. Franklin refused. I then proposed that Mr. Lee should take apartments with us at Passy, and there was room enough for us all; and I offered to resign my apartments to him, and take others which were unoccupied and not so convenient. But Mr. Lee refused to live with us, unless it were in Paris, where the Americans in general, and the French too, seemed to think we ought to live. All my proposals were therefore abortive.

Before I wrote the letter to Mr. Adams I had many things to consider. What would be the consequence if my plan should be adopted? Dr. Franklin's reputation was so high in America, in the court and nation of France, and all over Europe, that he would undoubtedly, as he ought to, be left alone at the Court of Versailles. Mr. Lee held two Commissions, one to the Court of France and one to the Court of Spain. If that to the Court of Versailles should be annulled, the other to the Court of Madrid would remain in force. The new plan would therefore make little odds to him. I had but one, and that to the Court of Versailles. If this was annulled, what would become of me? There was but one country to which I thought it possible that Congress might send a minister at that time, and that was Holland. But there was no hope that Holland would then receive a minister, and I thought Congress ought not to send one there as yet. I thought therefore that there was no alternative for me but to return to America; and I very deliberately determined that I had rather run the gauntlet again through all the British men-of-war in the Bay of Biscay, the British Channel, and the Gulf Stream, with all their storms and calms, than remain where I was under a system and in circumstances so ruinous to the American cause. I expected, however, that Congress would make some provision for my return, by giving me orders to receive money enough for my expenses, and

give me a passage in a frigate, if any one should be in France. In these last expectations only, I was disappointed. If I ever expressed any disgust, it was at this disappointment, and not at being recalled; for I was not recalled, and if I had been I should have rejoiced at it. Even this disgust was removed, when I had opportunity to converse with members of Congress, who explained the mystery to me. I might express disgust at another thing. When my family and baggage were all on board the "Alliance," below Painbœuf, in Nantes River, ready to sail the next morning for America, my frigate was impressed into the service of John Paul Jones, and I was left to wander on the sea-coast of France, like a ghost on the banks of the Styx, for three or four months, waiting for a passage in a French frigate. This, however, was not the fault of Congress. It was an intrigue. Whether the motives to it were justifiable, or excusable, or laudable, or otherwise, I shall not say at present. Who were the persons concerned in it, and how they conducted it, are questions which might fill many pages, which may one day be written, but not here. As the public service of the United States and of the King of France was the pretext, and in part, I believed, the real object, I acquiesced, however painful my personal disappointment was.

You are pleased to add, Madam, that I retired privately to my seat in Braintree, where I employed myself in preparing a concise statement of the situation and political connections of the powers of Europe, which I laid before Congress, &c. And for this and several other things you refer to a letter of mine to Congress, dated Aug. 4, 1779.

I arrived in Boston Harbor on August the 3d; on the next day the letter is dated. I could not employ myself long, therefore, in preparing this statement after my arrival.

But the fact is that the materials of that letter had been

collected in Europe and on the passage, and committed to writing before my arrival, and sent off to Congress on the day of the date. My time, therefore, during the interval between my arrival on the 3d of August and my departure for Europe the second time, — which was, I think, on the 19th of November, — was not employed in preparing that letter, but in something of much more importance. A few days before my arrival, my fellow-citizens of the town of Braintree, expecting me home every day, had elected me a member of the Convention which was then called to institute a Constitution of Government for the State of Massachusetts Bay, instead of that Royal Charter under which we had conducted all public affairs to that time. Upon my arrival, I found myself a member of the Convention; and the duties of this office, in reading over my old books upon government, in constant attendance in the Convention and committees, and in drawing up all the papers, — the Bill of Rights as well as the Frame of Government, — and in daily and hourly debates both in the House and in committee, in vindication of my own opinions against a multitude of motions, schemes, and plans urged in opposition to them, I found full employment for my time without "repairing to Congress." I sent on my accounts, which were soon approved and settled by an honorable vote. I sent on all the information I thought nccessary or proper to be communicated; and, among the rest, a copy of all the letters of the commissioners, written in my time, all of which, excepting two, had been written by my own hand. My "pride in the Gallican alliance" and my "zeal for supporting it" and all "the expressions" of it are still preserved in my letters, all of which, public and private, are at the service of the public whenever the public voice shall call for them in print. It is not correct, however, to talk of my "zeal for the alliance" without restrictions and explanations. As the treaty was made and the public faith of my country

solemnly pledged, no man was more decidedly zealous for fulfilling it in every article. But articles had been admitted into it which I never approved, and had always opposed in Congress from first to last. My invariable maxim has been, from the beginning to this day, friendship and commerce with all nations, but entangling alliances with none except in the last extremity of necessity; and no man knows this better than Mr. Jefferson.

It is very true that I advised Congress and everybody else in America to guard against principles and manners inconsistent with our government. And have I ever given other advice? Who, Madam, has introduced an inundation of atheism, deism, annihilation, gambling, contempt of marriage and the Sabbath? Is it I? Who has disseminated Paine, Barlow, Boulanger, the System of Nature, &c., into the darkest corners of the obscurest villages in our country? Is it I?

There is an insinuation in the note in this page. "This was under the despotism of kings. It was monarchic principles and manners that Mr. Adams then admonished his countrymen to avoid." The insinuation here seems to be twofold. First, that since France became a republic, the manners and principles have been better; or, secondly, that Mr. Adams had since become better reconciled to monarchical principles and manners. The first is contrary to the most notorious fact; for the principles and manners of France have been ten times worse since the abolition of the royal authority than they were before. The second insinuation, if it was intended, is as false as the first; for my opinion of monarchical principles and manners is the same it was in 1779, had been for twenty years before, and has been ever since, — viz., that the principles were indispensable and the manners unavoidable, because incurable, in the great nations of Europe, but wholly inadmissible in America. When you proceed to say, Madam, that "Mr. Adams continued in this retired

and *mortified* situation for some months," I am astonished at the spirit that guided your pen. With how much apparent delight do you insert that word "mortified"! Instead of being retired, I was in public forming a Constitution of Government for my country, which I have since spent a great part of my life in "defending." If Solon and Lycurgus were retired when they did the same for theirs, I may be said to have been retired. Instead of being mortified, it was the proudest period of my whole life. I made a Constitution for Massachusetts which finally made the Constitution of the United States. Still in hopes, Madam, that you will do me justice, I subscribe,

As usual, your injured friend,

JOHN ADAMS.

MRS. MERCY WARREN.

No. 5.

JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

QUINCY, July 30, 1807.

DEAR MADAM, — Had I really been disgusted and mortified at my treatment by Congress, which in fact I was not, but was satisfied as soon as it was explained to me, the mortification would have been more than compensated by the Commissions I received on the 4th of November, 1779, unquestionably the most confidential Commissions that Congress had ever issued. The Commission to General Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the army was far inferior to them both in confidence and importance and in danger and difficulty. The first constituted me sole Minister Plenipotentiary to negotiate and conclude a peace with Great Britain; the second, to negotiate a treaty of commerce with that power. The first Commission was in these words: —

"The Delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia,

"To all who shall see these presents, send greeting. It being probable that a negotiation will soon be commenced for putting an end to the hostilities between his most Christian Majesty and these United States on the one part and his Britannic Majesty on the other part, and it being the sincere desire of the United States that they may be terminated by a peace founded on such solid and equitable principles as reasonably to promise a permanency of the blessings of tranquillity, Know ye, therefore, that we, confiding in the integrity, prudence, and ability of the Honorable John Adams, Esquire, late Commissioner of the United States of America at the Court of Versailles, late Delegate in Congress from the State of Massachusetts Bay, and Chief Justice of the said State, have nominated and constituted and by these presents do nominate and constitute him the said John Adams our Minister Plenipotentiary, giving him full power, general and special, to act in that quality, to confer, treat, agree, and conclude with the ambassadors or plenipotentiaries of his most Christian Majesty and of his Britannic Majesty and those of any other princes or states whom it may concern, vested with equal powers, relating to the re-establishment of peace and friendship, and whatever shall be so agreed and concluded for us and in our name to sign, and thereupon make a treaty or treaties, and to transact every thing that may be necessary for completing, securing, and strengthening the great work of pacification in as ample form and with the same effect as if we were personally present and acted therein, hereby promising in good faith that we will accept, ratify, fulfil, and execute whatever shall be agreed, concluded, and signed by our said Minister Plenipotentiary,

and that we will never act nor suffer any person to act contrary to the same in the whole or in any part. In witness whereof, we have caused these presents to be given in Congress at Philadelphia, the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, and in the fourth year of the independence of the United States of America.

"Signed by the President and sealed with his seal.

"SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, *President*, and a seal.

"Attest: CHARLES THOMSON, *Sec'y*."

The Commission for making a treaty of commerce with Great Britain was in these words: —

"The Delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, in Congress assembled,

"To all who shall see the presents, send greeting. It being the desire of the United States that the peace which may be established between them and his Britannic Majesty may be permanent and accompanied with the mutual benefit derived from commerce, Know ye, therefore, that we, confiding in the integrity, prudence, and ability of the Honorable John Adams, Esquire, late Commissioner of the United States of America at the Court of Versailles, late Delegate in Congress from the State of Massachusetts Bay, and Chief Justice of that State, have nominated and constituted and by these presents do nominate and constitute him the said John Adams our Minister Plenipotentiary, giving him full power, general and special, to act in that quality, to confer, agree, and conclude with the ambassador or plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty vested with equal powers, of and concerning a treaty of com-

merce; and whatever shall be so agreed and concluded for us and in our name to sign, and thereupon make a treaty of commerce, and to transact every thing that may be necessary for completing, securing, and strengthening the same in as ample form and with the same effect as if we were personally present and acted therein, hereby promising in good faith that we will accept, ratify, fulfil, and execute whatever shall be agreed, concluded, and signed by our said Minister Plenipotentiary, and that we will never act nor suffer any person to act contrary to the same in the whole nor in any part. In witness whereof, we have caused these presents to be given in Congress at Philadelphia, the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, and in the fourth year of the independence of the United States of America.

"Signed by the President and sealed with his seal.

"SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, *President*, and a seal.
"Attest: CHA. THOMSON, *Sec'y*."

With these two Commissions, I received special instructions in detail. I have submitted, Madam, to the drudgery of copying these Commissions, for your information. If I had ever made any ostentation of talent, or, in your words, had shown any "pride of talent," which I deny, I would produce these Commissions in justification of it; at least, as an apology for it. I had spoken and acted daily, for four years, before that Congress, which was composed of men equal in talents and integrity to any who have since figured in American Councils. I had been abroad about eighteen months, and had minutely informed Congress of all my conduct, which had stood the test of the most critical and vigilant observation of the two most obstinate and inveterate and inflamed parties I ever knew. These Commissions were voted to me by eleven States out of twelve, as I was informed. If, therefore, confidence

was ever placed in any man by others, here was confidence placed in me, by men who had ample experience of my information in American affairs, and in my faculties of conducting them, whatever they were, as well as of my integrity. It is utterly incredible that such men should confide themselves, their country, and all their interests, to a man whose heart they did not believe incorruptible, and whose head they did not think adequate to the service, great, difficult, and dangerous as it was.

It is not, however, from vanity, nor the "pride of talent," that I send you these copies. It is that you may well weigh them, as historical and political documents. For on these Commissions hangs a very long history. Many intrigues have grown out of the subjects of them, especially that for commerce, and the consequences are not yet ended.

In my opinion, most of the disputes we have had with England, if not with France, have sprung from the jealousy which soon appeared of that Commission, and the intrigues to get rid of it. I shall not enter into this history at this time: it would require a volume. You seem to have had no idea of this great tract of history; or did you omit it, Madam, for fear it should do honor to me, or for fear it should do dishonor to the Comte de Vergennes, or for fear it should bring into suspicion the fortitude or patriotism of some of your present political patrons?

You have carefully recorded the appointment of Mr. Jay to Madrid, in page 141, Vol. II., to have been on the 27th of September, 1779, yet have taken no notice of mine, which was on the 29th of the same month. Both these missions had been under deliberation and discussion for some time, and were both resolved before any person was nominated. Congress determined to nominate a minister first for Spain, and Mr. Jay was chosen; after this, John Adams was nominated for peace and commerce, chosen, and appointed. I am not able

to account, Madam, for your knowledge of one event or your ignorance of the other. If it was not "pride," it was presumption, "of talent," in a lady to write a history with so imperfect information or so little impartiality.

In page 276 of the second volume, you say that, early in the present year, the Honorable Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, late President of the Continental Congress, was vested with this important Commission. What Commission? You say above, "A minister with proper credentials to appear in a public character at the Hague." I have not pride of talent enough to say what Commission Mr. Laurens had. I have never inspected, with this view, the Secret Journal of Congress, in which those proceedings of Congress were recorded. Mr. Laurens came over to Holland after his release from the Tower, and told me he had no Commission. By this I supposed that he had sunk his Commission in the sea, at the time of his capture. But I know not, to this day, whether he ever had a commission, or credentials as a public minister. My present opinion is that he had only a Commission as agent to borrow money. If in this I am mistaken, I am sorry for it; but the fact may be ascertained by recurring to the Secret Journal of Congress. I have several reasons for this conjecture, among which is this: that Mr. Laurens never mentioned to me any other credentials; and another is that no mention is made in my Commission of any other. My Commission is dated the twentieth day of June, 1780, and is in these words: —

"[L. S.] The United States of America, in Congress assembled, to the Honorable John Adams, Esquire, greeting.

"Whereas by our commission to the Honorable Henry Laurens, Esquire, bearing date the thirtieth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred

and seventy-nine, we have constituted and appointed him, the said Henry Laurens, during our pleasure, our agent for and on behalf of the said United States, to negotiate a loan with any person or persons, bodies politic and corporate; and whereas the said Henry Laurens has, by unavoidable accidents, been hitherto prevented from proceeding on his said agency, we, therefore, reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, ability, conduct and fidelity, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you, the said John Adams, until the said Henry Laurens, or some other person appointed in his stead, shall arrive in Europe, and undertake the execution of the aforesaid commission, our agent for and on behalf of the said United States to negotiate a loan, with any person or persons, bodies politic and corporate, promising in good faith to ratify and confirm whatsoever shall by you be done in the premises or relating thereunto. Witness his Excellency Samuel Huntington, Esq., President of the Congress of the United States of America, at Philadelphia, the twentieth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and in the fourth year of our independence.

"SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, *President.*

"Attest: CHARLES THOMSON, *Sec'y.*"

Of this Commission, Madam, although it was issued long before Mr. Laurens's departure from America, you take no notice. On the contrary, in page 300, Vol. II., you say, "Immediately after the news of Mr. Laurens's capture, imprisonment, and detention in England, the American Congress directed *John Adams, Esquire,* who had a second time been sent to Europe in a public character, to leave France and repair to Holland, there to transact affairs with the States-General, which had before been intrusted to the fidelity of Mr. Laurens. Mr. Adams's Commission was enlarged."

This is the only notice you have taken of my Commissions as Minister Plenipotentiary to treat of peace and commerce with Great Britain. Who could understand what was meant by being sent a second time to Europe in a public character? I was not in France, and had been long in Holland, which Congress knew very well, for they had received a great number of letters from me in Holland. Although I went first to Spain, and then to France, where I resided some months, yet neither my Commissions nor instructions as Minister for Peace and Commerce required of me to reside in France. All Europe was open to me, at my discretion. I might have gone directly to England, and Lord North said he wished Mr. Adams had come to London, where he should have been protected, for his Lordship began to be convinced that he must treat.

I had no thoughts of this, however, because it would have been a just cause of jealousy to our ally. But I went to Holland to see and reconnoitre that country, to make more friends for my country, and to see, as I told Dr. Franklin, whether I could not find means of rendering America somewhat less dependent on France. The Doctor, whom you respect so profoundly, immediately wrote this to Congress as a complaint against me. Congress did not, it seems, think it a crime to make them more independent. But instead of punishing, recalling, or censuring me, they exerted themselves to assist me, and authorized me to do what I hoped and intended. I accomplished it so fully that I not only made Congress, but Dr. Franklin himself, less dependent upon France. For years before he left France he could get no money to pay his own salary, nor even the expenses of his household, but from the fund I had obtained in Holland. How was Mr. Adams's Commission enlarged? No Commission of his was enlarged or diminished. His Commissions for peace and commerce remained in full force, and to them was added a new Commission to negotiate a loan of money.

On the twenty-ninth day of December, 1780, Congress issued another Commission, in these words: —

"[L. S.] The United States of America, in Congress assembled, to all who shall see these presents, send greeting.

"Whereas an intercourse between the citizens of the United Provinces of the Low Countries and the citizens of these United States, founded on the principles of equality and reciprocity, may be of mutual advantage to both nations, Know ye, therefore, that we, confiding in the integrity, prudence, and ability of the Honorable John Adams, late Commissioner of the United States of America at the Court of Versailles, late Delegate in Congress from the State of Massachusetts Bay, and Chief Justice of the said State, have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and by these presents do nominate, constitute, and appoint him, the said John Adams, our Commissioner, giving full power, general and special, to act in that quality, to confer, treat, agree, and conclude with the person or persons vested with equal powers by the States-General of the said United Provinces, of and concerning a treaty of amity and commerce; and whatever shall be so agreed and concluded for us, and in our name, to sign, and thereupon make such treaty, conventions, and agreements as he shall judge conformable to the ends we have in view. Hereby promising, in good faith, that we will accept, ratify, and execute whatever shall be agreed, concluded, and signed by our said Commissioner. In witness whereof, we have caused these presents to be given in Congress at Philadelphia, the twenty-ninth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and in the fifth year of our independence.

"Signed: SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, *President.*

"Attest: CHARLES THOMSON, *Sec'y.*"

At the same time, Congress sent me a letter of credence to his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange, as Stadtholder of the United Provinces.

There is no mention here of any Commission to Mr. Laurens to negotiate a treaty of commerce, or of any letter of credence as a Minister Plenipotentiary. In short, I have reason to believe that the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to the States-General or to the Stadtholder was occasioned entirely by my letters, in a great number of which I had recommended these measures, and urged them by every argument of necessity or expediency that occurred to my own mind, or was suggested by my confidential friends, of whom I had many among the first characters for talents and influence in the country, besides the Baron Van der Capellen de Pol, and his brother, Van der Capellen de March. These letters are recorded in the books of the office of foreign affairs at Washington; and, if they should be destroyed, they remain in my own letter books. I had urged the appointment of a public minister, not only to the States, but to the Stadtholder, as a public measure of great public utility, but had not solicited this appointment for myself. Whatever may be thought of it now, I had business enough as Minister of Peace, and I knew not how soon I might be called to act publicly in that character; and I thought there was danger that I should be embarrassed between the two trusts, as in fact it afterwards happened. I was accordingly very much concerned when I received the full power to negotiate a loan, and still more, when that arrived, to negotiate a treaty with the States, and represent my country at the Prince of Orange's Court, lest the duties of one Commission or another should be neglected. But, as the papers arrived, I determined to do all in my power. In page 161 of the third volume, you say that, "on Mr. Adams's arrival in Holland, he found every thing in a happy train for negotiation; the people well disposed,

and many of the most distinguished characters zealous for a treaty with the American States without any farther delay."

Here, Madam, your information is very erroneous. The people, it is true, except the Stadtholderians and the Anglomanes, who were very numerous and then all powerful, were well disposed towards the Americans, and heartily wished them well; but neither the people nor any of the distinguished characters were zealous or even willing for a treaty. Not even Mr. Van Berckel and his friend Mr. Bicker, nor Mr. Geizlar, the Pensioner of Dort, were ready for a treaty as yet. And America had no better friends than these. Holland was full of the spies of the Stadtholder and the English ministry in England, and of Sir Joseph York, the British Ambassador at the Hague. Even some of the American refugees, particularly Paul Wentworth, came over to watch and counteract me. Sir Joseph York began soon to thunder with his memorials to the States-General, and to demand vengeance against some, and threaten vengeance against all. War was dreaded by the whole nation as the greatest of evils; and they all knew that an acknowledgment of American independence would draw down the most furious indignation of England, and produce an immediate declaration of war against them. Such was the universal terror that Mr. John De Neufville told me that Amsterdam, and especially the Exchange, was more gloomy and dismal than a church-yard. Mr. Van Berckel was under such apprehensions that he dared not have any communication with me. I made a visit to his house, but was denied admittance. I wrote him letters, but received no answer. He was reduced to the necessity of writing secretly to Mr. Dumas, to pray him to make his apology to me, and to say that, though he was very desirous to see me, and to answer my letters, he dared to do neither, — "parce qu'on fait tout son possible pour me sacrifier aux Anglomanes," *i. e.* "because they are using their utmost

endeavors to sacrifice me to the English party." This gentleman and others were apprehensive of the fate of the De Witts, *i. e.* of being torn to pieces by an enraged populace stirred up by their enemies. And many people thought I had more reason to tremble than Mr. Van Berckel. I might have retreated to France under twenty pretexts, or I might have gone on a journey of curiosity or pleasure into Germany or to Antwerp; but I thank God that, in those parts of my life when I have thought myself in the most personal danger, I have hitherto found myself the most collected. I determined, therefore, to remain at my post and ride out the storm.

The next paragraphs I never could read without laughing: "Mr. Adams's manner and habits were much more assimilated to the Dutch than to the French nation."

The satirical sneer intended in this place would have come from Mrs. Warren with a better grace in a satirical poem than in a grave history. However, I declare the assertion to be false. Distinguishing morals from manners, I avow that the manners and habits of the French are more agreeable to me than those of Holland, England, or even my own dear country, America. Conversation is more gay, more sprightly, more good-humored, more entertaining and instructive in France than in any country I ever saw. And their temperance, *savoir-vivre*, is more agreeable than the deep drinking and perpetual electioneering politics which poison society in England and America, and even in Holland. Though this trait was intended for a sting, it has not wounded me. It has excited nothing but ridicule. If it was worth while, I could produce very satisfactory proofs that my manners and habits were at least as acceptable in France as those of any minister America has ever yet sent there. I could appeal to the Duke de la Vauguyon, with whom I lived in the strictest intimacy for many years, and to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and Mr. Marbois, and, indeed, to all the French

men and women with whom I ever conversed, to determine whether my manners were ever disagreeable to them. They were only politicians and intriguers who found fault with me, and they not for my manners, but my morals; and because they said I had *beaucoup de tête*, that is, head enough to understand them, and obstinacy enough to resist their insidious policy.

This assertion, however, I can easily suppose Mrs. Warren has borrowed from some informer. But there is something that follows, which I cannot conceive could have been communicated to her by any person in the world. "He took lodgings at Amsterdam for several months, at the house of Mr. Dumas, a man of some mercantile interest, considerable commercial knowledge, not acquainted with manners or letters, but much attached to the Americans from the general predilection of Dutchmen in favor of republicanism."

It is impossible for me to conjecture the source from whence this foolish information could have arisen. Whether ignorance, dulness, or malice produced it, I know not. If I had been dead, it might have passed for truth and gone down to posterity. But it shall not. It was manifestly intended to cast a slur upon me for an injudicious choice of lodgings, and as having stooped below my character in domiciliating myself with a trader. But it is all false. Mr. Dumas never lived in Amsterdam. Mr. Dumas never was a merchant. Mr. Dumas never had any mercantile interest. If Mr. Dumas had any commercial knowledge, it was merely theoretical, and such as every man of reading and reflection, and knowledge of the world, possesses. Mr. Dumas was a man of the world, and well acquainted with manners. Mr. Dumas was so much of a man of letters that he was one of the most accomplished classical scholars that I have been acquainted with, and had taken as general a survey of ancient and modern science and literature as most of the professors of

the Universities of Europe or America. He was indeed much attached to the Americans, but from better motives and more knowledge than "the general predilection of Dutchmen in favor of republicanism."

Such was Mr. Dumas. He always lived at the Hague, at least from my first knowledge of his name till his death at upwards of fourscore. He had been in England before our Revolution, and Dr. Franklin had been in Holland, in both of which countries Dr. Franklin and Mr. Dumas had become acquainted, and attached in friendship to each other.

When Dr. Franklin was a member of the secret committee of correspondence appointed by Congress, he advised them to write to Mr. Dumas. When Dr. Franklin arrived in Paris, a correspondence took place at once between him, Mr. Deane, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Dumas. When I arrived in Paris, the correspondence was continued, and some letters passed between me and Mr. Dumas. Mr. Dumas corresponded also with Congress; and he was allowed three hundred pounds sterling a year for his services. All this had passed before I ever visited Holland or had seen the face of this gentleman.

What kind of republicanism, Mrs. Warren, do you think was the general predilection of Dutchmen? It was a self-created, self-continued, and self-preserved aristocracy, in which the people had no more share than they had in France; no more, indeed, than they had in Turkey, for in Turkey the people sometimes rise in mobs, and so they did in Holland. Besides this, Mr. Dumas was not a Dutchman, in Mrs. Warren's sense. He was a native of Germany. I can say no more about republicanism, because I know not the meaning of the word as Mrs. Warren uses it. And I believe she does not know her own meaning; at least, I am confident she will never give me nor the public a definition of it.

Soon after my arrival at Amsterdam in midsummer,

1780, Mr. Dumas came from the Hague to make me a visit, and pay his respects to me as an ambassador in the service of the country in whose service he was a subordinate agent. This was my first personal acquaintance with him: he stayed a few days, and returned to his home. We continued our correspondence occasionally.

When afterwards I received my commission to negotiate a loan, I took a house in Amsterdam, Op. de Keisers Gracght, by de Spiegel Straat. The house was as commodious and elegant as my public character required and my appointments would afford; for I had no additional allowance from Congress for any commission or services but those for peace. I employed Messrs. Sigourney and Ingraham, an American house established at that time in trade at Amsterdam, to furnish my house with movables and necessary servants, which they did while I was absent at Leyden and the Hague. Here I lived with as much hospitality to my American fellow-citizens who visited me, and to the inhabitants of the city with whom I was acquainted, and to all strangers who were recommended or introduced to me, as was in my power, though not so much as was in my will.

What you mean, Madam, by my "associating much with the common classes," I know not. It seems as if your pen could not possibly approach my name without issuing some insinuation of meanness and awkwardness, or, in other and plainer words, without venting some spiteful hint. Travelling in the Trecht Schuits, and at the inns where I dined and lodged, I endeavored to converse with the people and obtain as much knowledge of the country and its inhabitants — their manners, customs, laws, and politics, and of their sentiments of France, England, and America — as I could, and associated no otherwise with the common classes, unless you except my domestic servants.

My society in Amsterdam were Burgomaster Hooft; Mr. Van Berckel, as respectable a man as any in Amsterdam;

Mr. Vischer, another pensionary; the House of Horneca, Fizeaux, and Grand, a respectable French banking house; the Van Staphorsts; De la Lande and Fynje; Mr. Crommelin, an ancient gentleman who had retired from commerce with a fortune, and his three sons, who with large property and high credit carried on the extensive trade of the company; Mr. John De Neufville and son; and especially Mr. Bicker, who had closed the accounts of an ancient house, and retired upon a capital of four or five millions. This gentleman was a most intelligent and useful friend, always ready to inform and advise me, and that with all the prudence, caution, and circumspection which my situation required. His son also, who was then a magistrate, that is, a judge and a counsellor of the city, was my acquaintance and friend, both at Amsterdam and the Hague. There was no better company in that country. I might have added Mr. John Hodshon, one of the first capitalists, who was as honorable a friend as any that I found. I was advised to be introduced to Mr. Hope, the dominant mercantile house in Holland, and Mr. Hodshon offered to bring us together; but, upon a careful inquiry, I found that the house of Hope did all the business of the British ministry in Holland, on which he drew commissions to a large amount, that he would hold himself obliged to communicate whatever he knew to the English government; and, above all, that he had conceived a notion that America ought not to expect to borrow money at a lower interest than the Batavians had given in their revolution, which was ten or twelve per cent: for these reasons I determined to have nothing to do with him or his house. I had many other acquaintances, and several among the literary characters; but these I shall not name, because excepting Mr. Calkoen they had little political or moneyed connections with me.

After the receipt of my Commission and credence as minister plenipotentiary to the States-General and the Prince of Orange, I bought a house at the Hague every

way fit for a public minister, even if he had the title of an Ambassador, and removed my furniture into it. Here I resided as I had done at Amsterdam; but, finding myself perplexed with the care of a family and the peculations and villanies of servants, Mr. Dumas, whose property was not large, though he had a small real estate, and his income as American agent but small, offered to remove with his family into my house. I readily accepted his proposal, and promised to bear all his expenses. He came accordingly with his wife and one child, an amiable and beautiful daughter of about twelve years of age, and took the oversight of my servants and family affairs, to my great relief and their considerable emolument. It was a regular and a virtuous family, as far as ever I observed or heard. This, Madam, is the Mr. Dumas whom you have transmitted to posterity in so contemptible a light.

From page 163 to 166 inclusively, you have been pleased to insert a little approbation, and something like a panegyric; yet, in a note at the end of it, you could not restrain your malignity against me, but must poison it all by a base insinuation: "Their object then was a free, independent republic, without any approximation to regal authority or monarchic usages; there was no sighing then for rank, titles, and the expensive trappings of nobility." The insinuation here is too obvious to need any explanatory commentary. It is intended by the historian to gratify the prejudices of the present ruling party in America, and to sanction the slanders by which they ascended to power. Every true blue Jacobin who reads it will easily and readily apply it to all the lies he has heard and read concerning me, and cry out in all his drunken circles: "Ah! John Adams was once for a free, independent republic, without any approximation to regal authority or monarchic usages; but since he has been 'corrupted' in England, he has been sighing for rank, titles, and the

expensive trappings of nobility." I was always for a free republic; not a democracy, which is as arbitrary, tyrannical, bloody, cruel, and intolerable a government as that of Phalaris with his bull is represented to have been. Robespierre is a perfect exemplification of the character of the first bell-wether in a democracy. That I ever sighed for rank, titles, or the expensive trappings of nobility, is false; and Mrs. Warren knows me well enough to know that there is not a man in the world to whom rank, titles, and the expensive trappings of nobility are more indifferent.

What have I done, Mrs. Warren, to merit so much malevolence from a lady concerning whom I never in my life uttered an unkind word or a disrespectful insinuation? At least, until your History appeared, nor even since I read it, till I began to write these letters. I have still confined my resentment to these communications to yourself. In these, I have used the words of truth and soberness. Still in hopes that you will do me all the justice in your power, I subscribe myself your friend,

JOHN ADAMS.

3.

MRS. MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS.

PLYMOUTH, Mass., August 1, 1807.

JOHN ADAMS, ESQ.

SIR, — Your fourth letter, like the preceding ones, discovers a fixed determination to misconstrue every expression of mine wherever you, sir, are introduced in my History of the American Revolution. I am astonished that you should discover so much resentment at a sentence in page 140, particularly at the word "mortified." I did, at the time alluded to, think you in a mortified situation; I did think you had been ill-treated, from your own representations, on your return from France in 1779. Mr.

Warren and myself visited you in the retirement noticed, — firmer and more attached friends you had not then in the United States. We both thought alike on your deportment at the time, and both regretted the disappointment, chagrin, and vexation you discovered, and drew our conclusions from your own expressions. But we never named it, and, when it has been alluded to in an historic work, never designed to enter into the details of the wranglings of the American commissioners at the Court of France, it was done in a delicate manner, consistent with the part I had been used to take when you thought yourself injured, either by public or private men; and none of your friends rejoiced more at the very honorable appointment you received, in a few months after your first return, to repair again to Europe in a public character.

The copy of the letter you sent me to Mr. Samuel Adams was a very good one; but, when you recommended through him to Congress to appoint only one gentleman as a plenipotentiary to the Court of France, did you wish Mr. Lee to be the man? You surely could not have wished it to have been Dr. Franklin. I have long known your opinion of him too well to suppose this, and from what I had often heard you say I have not a doubt the bare apprehension would have been reason sufficient for your disgust and mortification.

There are several frivolous criticisms in your letter of July 28th that I do not think worthy of any observation; but, if you will please to look at the eighth page of the same letter, you will not wonder I am totally at a loss what to make of it, as I am at very many pages of the whole of your late correspondence. You there ask, "Who, Madam, has introduced an inundation of atheism, deism, annihilation, gambling, contempt of marriage and the Sabbath? Is it I? Who has disseminated Paine, Barlow, Boulanger, the System of Nature, &c., into the darkest cor-

ners of the obscurest villages in our country? Is it I!" What can you possibly mean by asking Mrs. Warren those questions? Can you mean to insinuate that she has had any part in introducing or encouraging these abominable principles and enormous vices which you have witnessed, both in Europe and America? Or is it meant to reproach any person or persons whom you think she is obliged to defend?

You very well know, sir, that my detestation of the atheistical writers, both in France and England, is at least equal to your own, and my dread of the result of the dissemination of the works of Voltaire and his disciples has often been expressed by my pen; and you never in conversation, in the course of a long acquaintance, had any reason to suspect my veneration for the Christian religion, — the purity of its morals, and the efficacy of its example in promoting the happiness of mankind, both in this world and in the next. Why, then, these extraordinary questions? I might repeat this interrogatory on many other queries, assertions, and allusions, through the whole series of your late correspondence, so replete with jealousy, misconstruction, strange conclusions from unfounded suspicions, and a general want of candor and kindness, as renders the business very unpleasant.

Nothing further need be adduced to prove this than your forced construction on a note of two lines in page 140. Was not the observation true? If it was, where was the impropriety of making it? And is not every one at liberty to draw inferences according to his own ideas of truth?

Your strange suggestion that I had dwelt with pleasure on the word *mortified*, — a word only once used, — I can impute only to the mortified and vexatious state of mind you were then in.

You have appeared in your next letter very much enraged at my informant relative to your residence for a time

under the same roof with Mr. Dumas. You say, "*Mr. Dumas shall not be handed down to posterity as I* [you] *have represented him.*" I do not think it very important whether Mr. Dumas is handed down to posterity as a merchant or a man of letters, — or whether he was a republican in my sense of the word, or in yours; nor is it very material whether you resided with him as a boarder, or he with you as a domestic inspector, as you say he did for some time. The little consequence this is of to the public will exonerate the gentleman from either "*ignorance, dulness, or malice,*" who incidentally mentioned the trivial circumstance to me. The inaccuracy might be mine, that it was at Amsterdam instead of the Hague. I do not see that this information tended to cast a slur upon your character or that it lessened that of Mr. Dumas.

If one or the other is done in this instance, it is by your own pen, — a pen from which I have lately received so much abuse, unfriendly, ungenerous, and ungentlemanly treatment, that my indignation is too much raised to reply to every particular of your dark, unfounded suspicions. Some of them I hold in too much contempt to notice at all. But when you assert that "it is intended by the historian to gratify the prejudices of the present ruling party in America, and to sanction the slanders by which they ascended to power," it reaches a point beyond patient forbearance, where there is any degree of sensibility, honor, or truth. If you wish to read the next scurrilous observations, look at your own copy of July 30th.

I have never added or omitted a line relative to you or any other man from a malignancy of heart with which you so often charge me; nor for fear "*it should do dishonor to the Count de Vergennes; nor for fear it should bring into suspicion the fortitude or patriotism of some of my* [your] *present political patrons.*" Pray, sir, who do you mean by *my* [your] *political patrons?* I have

never had political patronage from any quarter, and I desire to thank a kind Providence I do not stand in need of it.

You have boasted that you "*have done many great and dangerous things that my* [your] *philosophical friend, Mr. Jefferson, had not dared to undertake.*" You add that I "*know all this:*" there, sir, you are mistaken. I never knew that my "*philosophical friend, Mr. Jefferson,*" was afraid to do his duty in any instance. But this I know: he has dared to do many things for the benefit of his country, for which posterity will probably bless his memory; and I hope he will yet, by his wisdom, justice, moderation, and energy, long continue the blessings of peace in our country, and strengthen the republican system to which he has uniformly adhered.

You have somewhere observed that you "can say no more about republicanism, because I know not the meaning of the word as Mrs. Warren uses it, and I believe she does not know her own meaning; at least, I am confident she will never give me nor the public a definition of it." Mrs. Warren has already given you a definition of her meaning in several parts of her historical work.

You may see her ideas how the system ought to operate in page 432, Vol. III., of Mrs. Warren's History: "The people may again be reminded that the elective franchise is in their own hands; that it ought not to be abused, either for personal gratification or the indulgence of partisan acrimony. This advantage should be improved, not only for the benefit of existing society, but with an eye to that fidelity which is due to posterity. This can only be done by electing such men to guide the national councils, whose conscious probity enable them to stand like a colossus on the broad basis of independence, and by correct and equitable arrangements endeavor to lighten the burdens of the people, strengthen their unanimity at home, command justice abroad, and cultivate peace with all na-

tions, until an example may be left on record of the practicability of meliorating the condition of mankind."

Thus, you may see, by what I have already written, what I mean by a free republic, and that my ideas are very different from those which you exhibit, when you assert that "*Robespierre is a perfect exemplification of the character of the first bell-wether in a democracy*," and go on in the same page to expatiate on "the true blue Jacobins, and the drunken circles that will apply my [your] representations, and cry out: Ah, John Adams," &c.

But, after I have heard you say that the celebrated Mrs. Macaulay knew nothing about government, I cannot wonder at your saying "it is presumption in a lady to write a History with so little information as Mrs. Warren has acquired." Perhaps that presumption might have been excited by yourself, when with the warmest expression of friendship you acknowledged you had received a letter from an *incomparable satirist*, and requested your most profound respects might be presented to her, desiring her husband at the same time to tell her that "God Almighty (I use a bold style) has intrusted her with powers for the good of the world, which in the course of his providence he bestows upon very few of the human race; that, instead of being a fault to use them, it would be criminal to neglect them." — Letter to General Warren, Braintree, March 15, 1775.

Such a flight of encomium is not claimed by Mrs. Warren as her prescriptive right, — she has viewed it as the exuberance of partiality from a real friend; but as it was from a friend who has declared that he never used any dissimulation or flattery, either to man or woman, her judgment might be so far imposed upon as to lead her to attempt an historic record without the fear of a charge from the same gentleman of either "pride or presumption of talents."

Is not this a sufficient apology for transcribing an extract so flattering to the *pride or presumption* of

MERCY WARREN.

No. 6.

JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

QUINCY, August 3d, 1807.

DEAR MADAM, — In your third volume, page 169, you say that "on the 22d of April, 1782, Mr. Adams was admitted at the Hague, and with the usual ceremonies received as minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America." This mistake of a few days in chronology is scarcely worth a remark, but I suppose you would wish to be correct. It was on the 19th day of April, not the 22d.

In the 176th page, you quote an author as saying that "one more such revolution (as ours, is understood) would give freedom to the world." There has been one revolution since, and what kind of freedom has it given to the world?

I have passed over a passage which ought to have been noted in page 175. You say: "The people had been divided between an aristocratic and a republican party: the one influenced by their attachment to the Stadtholder; the other had co-operated with the interests of France." It is not surprising that an American lady should misunderstand and be misinformed in relation to the government of Holland, and the temper, genius, and habits of the people, as well as their political principles. But nothing can be more diametrically opposite to the fact than your representation of it. The Dutch nation had no idea of any republic but an aristocracy. The aristocratic party, instead of being influenced by an attachment to the Stadtholder, were the only persons who opposed him, and finally drove him to Bois le Duc. The people, as distinguished from the aristocracy, were almost universally his friends, and attached to him as much as the people of France were to their king, or as the people of England were to theirs.

It was the people as contradistinguished from the aristocracy who first established William the First Prince of Orange. These people supported Maurice, and afterwards King William. These people have supported the Stadtholderate in all times. It was with the good-will and applause of this same people attached to the Stadtholder, and in opposition to the aristocracy, that Barneveldt was beheaded, Grotius imprisoned and banished to France, and the De Witts massacred. These were among the first of mankind in integrity, talents, and wisdom; yet they were sacrificed, as many similar characters are now in America, to popular prejudices and the falsehoods and slanders which such prejudices always engender, and which Mrs. Warren has manifestly countenanced, encouraged, and flattered in her History. This same people, instead of co-operating with the interests of France, have always been in opposition to it, and always attached to the Stadtholder and the English nation. Their affection for us was partly because they considered us as a part of the English nation, and partly because they thought we were contending against our oppressors, as their ancestors had done against Spain. The cry of liberty had a charm in their ears, but they knew not what American liberty meant. They probably thought it was the same as their own, though they had none in reality, — that is, no political liberty, — any more than the people of France. They had no legal or constitutional mode of expressing their opinions or their wishes or their feelings. And they never did express them but upon great and dangerous emergencies, and then only by mobs, riots, uproars, and seditions. Had a Maurice, or even a King William, been Stadtholder when I was in Holland, Mr. Van Berckel and your present correspondent might have experienced the fate of the De Witts; for the populace was on tiptoe, and wanted only a little more encouragement to have proceeded to the last extremities.

I had many opportunities of observing the sentiments of these people. I was present at Utrecht at the time of the revolution of that province. These people had been wrought up to fury against the aristocracy, and under the conduct of a Scotch officer of their army had demolished the old aristocracy, and chosen a new one by popular election. Annual, biennial, or any other elections limited by years, were either not thought of, or could not be carried. I saw the inauguration, and this Scotch officer was the master of the ceremonies, and administered the oaths. Every officer and every magistrate of the new order was permanent, was perpetual, was for life.

The people could not trust themselves with periodical elections. Here, then, was a new aristocracy instituted by the voluntary decree of the people with the same functions and powers with that which they turned out by force, and in which the people had no share, over which they had no power, and could have no influence but by a fresh uproar. When the King of Prussia came to the aid of the Stadtholder, all these people flew over to his side with rapture, and the whole seven provinces became as yellow as an orange.

I could relate proofs enough of this. One I will mention more. The Baron Van der Capellen de Pol often complained to me that the patriots could do nothing with the people. He said they were haunted by the demon of aristocracy in every province, city, and village. It entered into the souls of every order of citizens: he met with it, and was resisted by it in every project he could invent. One instance in particular he related to me in detail. He went, he said, upon some occasion to Amsterdam, and took great pains to assemble the merchants to deliberate upon some political question in which the commerce of that city was interested. He procured a general meeting, and proposed some measures to be taken. He strove to reason with them, and convince them, and persuade them to put

the proposition to vote. No: the great majority would have no question put. They would appoint three or four men to manage the business according to their judgments. The Baron hoped the committee would report to the assembly that their results might be deliberated on, and accepted or rejected by the assembly at large. No; the cry was immediately general, if the business was to be conducted and decided in a *crowd*, they would have nothing to do with it. Accordingly, a small committee was appointed with full power to do the whole at their discretion, and the assembly was immediately dissolved to meet no more. It is the aristocracy which has always inclined to France. Barneveldt, Grotius, the De Witts, were all of that party, and disposed rather to France than England. The French ambassadors, the French Court and nation, have always endeavored to conciliate these, and consequently, always in opposition to the Stadtholder and the people, both of whom have been always inclined to the English. It was the people in their uproars who made the Stadtholdership permanent, — first for life, and afterwards hereditary.

The attachment of the people to the Stadtholdership appeared in a thousand instances. The capital manufacturers who were inclined to the aristocracy, and consequently to France, tried the experiment with their journeymen. Mr. Van Heukelem, of Leyden, the greatest woollen manufacturer, I believe, in the United Provinces, who employed a great number of workmen, told me that the bigoted devotion to the Orange Family among all the artificers was astonishing, that he had gone among his own people and conversed familiarly with them, endeavored to convince them that the Stadtholdership was unnecessary, that it was a restraint of their liberty, and the republic would be better without it; but he said he could make no impression. His journeymen to a man rejected all his insinuations, and declared to him in plain Dutch language:

"Say or do what you will, you and your friends, — we will have a Stadtholder." And they ran out into long histories of the contests between the regencies and the Stadtholder, in which they showed the oppression of the people and the disgrace of the State when the patriotic party had prevailed, and the happiness of the people and prosperity of the State when the House of Orange had prevailed, in justification of their resolution, which surprised him. He had no idea, he said, "that those people had so much knowledge of the history of the country." This history is very true, notwithstanding the splendid naval actions under their aristocracy in some periods.

One more anecdote, which happened when I was in Holland, shall be related. The legislature passed and proclaimed a placart, forbidding all persons to wear orange cockades. It was posted up in all public places, and published in all the usual forms of a public law. The Doyen of the turf-lifters immediately procured him a monstrous orange cockade, and wore it publicly everywhere in the streets of the Hague, in open defiance and derision of the legislature. Did this legislature prosecute this man? No: they dared not. Did the people hiss this man? No: as far as they dared, they snickered and giggled, and were mightily pleased. There is a set of men called turf-lifters, because they carry turf about the cities for the consumption of the inhabitants; and, being generally very stout, hardy, and daring men, are as much dreaded in popular uproars as are the butchers of Pennsylvania. This Doyen was the oldest man of this class at the Hague, fourscore and upwards I believe, had been one of the stoutest of them, and famous for his feats on former occasions. In short, he was supposed to have the body of the turf-lifters as much at his devotion as Mackintosh was once supposed to have a certain class in Boston. What could the legislature do? Braved, disobeyed, insulted to their faces by a turf-lifter! They dared not exert one act of

authority. But a caucus of their chiefs, after grave consultation and deliberation, concluded to send two of their most popular, or rather least unpopular, members, to treat with the Doyen. These gentlemen took an opportunity to send for him secretly in an amicable way. He appeared. They represented to him the placart. "I know it very well," said the old man. They then represented to him his conduct in disobedience of it. "Very true," said the old man, "and here is the hat with the cockade in it." They then assumed an air of friendship, entreated him to consider the dangerous tendency of his behavior; that it would produce divisions, quarrels, and perhaps uproars; for all riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies, in the laws of Holland, are called uproars. They used every argument which could influence his reason or touch his feelings. The old man heard them all with a solemn, stern, immovable countenance till they had exhausted their ingenuity, without uttering a word. After they had ceased for some time, and a solemn, gloomy pause on his part, he raised his arm on high, and with his brawny, enormous fist struck upon the table before them a blow almost enough to split the board, and roared out, "There is no knowing how to live with you," and here he ceased. The gentlemen then began to inquire: "Why? How? What is the matter? What hinders your living with us; or what part of our conduct is it that you do not understand? Mention it, and we will explain it if we can." It was a long time before they could get any thing more from him; but at last he broke out again: "It is but so many years ago that you issued a placart commanding all persons to wear orange cockades; now you send out another forbidding all persons to wear orange cockades. There is no knowing where to find you."

The gentlemen continued to reason, to soften, to apologize, without daring to threaten. At last, the old man's generous feelings were wrought upon, and he expressed

them in his own way. Taking his cockade out of his hat, "Well," said he, "this once I will put you upon trial. I will wear the orange cockade no more. But remember this, if you ever issue another placart commanding us to wear the orange cockade, Dunder and Blixom seize me, if I obey you." This is the vulgar Dutch oath, which is as strong and horrid as any you can conceive in English. This, which is a true history, shows the distinctions between Stadtholder, and aristocrats, and the people, and that the last were unalterably attached to the first.

The "republicanism," Madam, of the people of the United Provinces was Stadtholderism, or House of Orangeism; and the republicanism of the regencies was aristocracy, unlimited by any Stadtholder on one side or any people on the other.

Of the third party you speak of, which embraced a system more free, I know nothing. It existed not in my time. Mr. Cerisier, after I left the country, published a book which he called "Grundwettige Herstelling," in which he recommended a Constitution in three branches, somewhat like that of England, as I have heard. I understand not enough of the Dutch to read it, and I have often heard the most zealous friends of liberty in Holland wish for the Constitution of England instead of their own. Other third party I know not. It must have been even more insignificant than our third party in America, who love their country only, without fawning love or servile fear either of France or England. The aristocratic party called in the French to subdue the Stadtholder; and the people and the world have seen their reward. There were others, the most worthy men in the nation, who wished for a good understanding with all their neighbors, without any servile attachment or submission to any.

By what has been said, I think it is manifest that either your information or mine is extremely erroneous. For eight years, *i. e.* from 1780 to 1788, I was conversant in

Holland, and held a public employment in it. Several years I lived constantly there. I read as much as I could of their history, policy, and government. I inquired diligently into the character, views, principles, and habits of the nation.

In the next page, Mrs. Warren's benevolence to Mr. Adams is again displayed in a copious stream of her historical eloquence: "Mr. Adams had never enjoyed himself so well as while residing in the Dutch Republic." I know not what foundation Mrs. Warren has for this observation. In Holland, I had a fit of sickness, the most severe that I ever experienced, and as dangerous as any man ever passed through and lived. It left me debilitated both in body and in memory, to a degree that I have never since recovered, and for two years after it I had scarcely a day of good health. I was pursued into Holland by the intrigues of Vergennes and Franklin, and was embarrassed and thwarted, both in my negotiations for a loan and in those of a political nature, by their friends, agents, and spies, as much, at least, as I ever had been in France. I had found friends, very ingenious and learned friends, in France as well as in Holland.

"His genius was not altogether calculated for a court life amidst the conviviality and gayety of Parisian taste." How does Mrs. Warren know this? Who is her informer? I know of no source from whence she could draw it except the English newspapers, in which the American refugees inserted a great deal of such coarse stuff. Pray was the genius of Franklin or Jay or Laurens or Jefferson better calculated? Do you think the genius of Mr. Morris, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Livingston, or Mr. Armstrong, better calculated? If you do, you know nothing of Franklin, Jay, Laurens, Morris, Monroe, Livingston, or Armstrong. It was not the genius of any of these that made them agreeable or disagreeable in France, but their politics and their subserviency or repugnancy to the political views

of the French Minister. "In France, he was never happy." I declare this is false, and affirm that I was as happy in France as I ever was in my life, excepting the last seven years. "Not beloved by his venerable colleague, Dr. Franklin." Would you advise me to publish and explain the reasons and history of this? A volume as large as one of yours might do it, and it may one day be done. At present, I will give no other answer to this observation than this: Mr. Silas Deane was beloved, dearly beloved, by his venerable colleague, Dr. Franklin; and Mr. Arthur Lee and Mr. Ralph Izard most cordially hated. Thwarted by the Minister, the Count de Vergennes, he was, but never until he became an ambassador for peace and commerce, nor then until he had been forced to give some broad hints that he never would consent to sacrifice the fisheries and a hundred and fifty millions of acres of land, and the independence of his country too, to the caprice of that Minister. My not being beloved by my venerable colleague, and my being thwarted by De Vergennes, are the greatest glories of my life; and I shall rejoice in both to my last hour.

Your idols, Mrs. Warren, will not have their worship increased, if you force me to expose them naked. "Ridiculed by the fashionable and polite as deficient in the *je ne sais quoi* so necessary in polished society." Franklin, Jay, Laurens, Jefferson, Monroe, Livingston, Morris, and Armstrong, I suppose, were not deficient in this *je ne sais quoi*.

Mrs. Warren, you have exposed yourself to eternal ridicule by this very ladylike, I will not say insinuation, but assertion. No man or woman in France ever ridiculed me in my presence or within my hearing. I never was informed that any person had ridiculed me behind my back. No symptom of ridicule ever appeared in print in any journal, pamphlet, or other publication in print that ever came to my knowledge. I was treated in France by all

sorts of people, from the throne to the footstool, with invariable respect and kindness. When I returned from France in 1779, after having resided there about fifteen months, I brought with me the King's full approbation of my conduct, signified to me by his order in a letter from the Count de Vergennes; and I have in my possession authentic proofs, in writing, of the esteem and respect of some of the most confidential agents of the two ministers, De Sartine and De Vergennes. If the labor were not too great, I would send you copies.

Nevertheless, I will not say that I was not ridiculed in France. Was there a king or a priest in Europe, or a noble or a magistrate, who was not ridiculed? Was there a saint, an angel, or a God in heaven who was not ridiculed? Was there a faithful husband or a chaste wife in France who was not ridiculed? I trow not.

. . . . . .

You may depend upon it, Madam, it required all the imposing influence of the government, the academicians, and economists, and even of the atheists, deists, and philosophers, and it has since appeared that these last had more influence than all the former, to keep up the respect to the grand Franklin. The watchword had been given, and every one of these agreed, whenever he appeared, to say, with solemn French gravity, "*C'est un homme respectable!*" Without this, his droll appearance would have been the sport of the populace wherever he went, notwithstanding all his "*je ne sais quoi.*"

It was the eternal wrangles among my colleagues, and the parties of American and French small folk who were attached to them, and the injury and ruin to our public affairs that were the consequence of them, that occasioned all the unhappiness I felt in France. But I had little less of this in Holland, and should have had as much if I had been honored with colleagues. Who is or who has been your informer, Mrs. Warren? He or they, whoever they

may be, were so deceived themselves, or so determined to deceive you, that I declare to you all the suggestions are false. I have no recollection that I ever had a dispute with any French man or woman in my whole life, nor ever received an uncivil word from, or uttered one uncivil word to, any of them. Neither frigidity or warmth ever appeared to any of them, — certainly not warmth. They have been Englishmen and Americans, and perhaps sometimes Dutchmen, who have excited my irritability, — not Frenchmen. Even Mr. Brissot, who has immortalized a transient conversation between him and me at my house in Grosvenor Square, in which he reports, I believe truly, that I said I did not believe the French nation capable of a free republican government, does not insinuate that there was the least warmth. The whole conversation passed in perfect good humor and entire civility. He left me in friendship, and sent me, after his arrival in France, a complete set of his works. The harshest word that ever passed between me and any Frenchman that I recollect was this. The Duke de Liancourt, on a visit to me when Mr. Jay's treaty with England was first ratified, worked himself up into a passion, and spoke in very harsh terms against the treaty, and the government for ratifying of it. I heard him long without uttering a word. At length, his language became so indecent that I thought it out of character for me to hear it. I gravely, but coolly, said to him that I thought it unbecoming in him, a stranger, treated as he had been everywhere with uniform hospitality, and even kindness, to indulge himself in such expressions concerning the government that protected him and a people who afforded him so good an asylum. The Duke retorted upon me, "*Quand on a l'esprit de parti, on est près de l'injustice*," — "When a man has the spirit of party, he is near the confines of injustice." And here the warmth ended. Neither of us ever thought the worse of the other for this. I have had a sharp contest or two with

De Vergennes upon public questions, in writing. He treated me ill, and I returned him huff for huff. But these papers were laid before Congress in 1780 and 1781, and will speak for themselves. They were excited by a scandalous attempt of his to impose upon America, and I would not be the instrument, as he wanted to make me, of his foolish and dishonest trick. I had the thanks of Congress for what he resented so highly, and their vote of thanks is on record.

I cannot but admire the wonderful fluency and the dear delight with which those soft expressions, "not beloved," "thwarted," "ridiculed," "viewed with jealousy," "hated," "frigidity and warmth," are rolled along by Mrs. Warren, and applied to her old friend who has been all his lifetime more tender of her reputation, and that of her husband, than his own. What have I done to deserve this?

"He there did little of consequence"! I cannot say that Mrs. Warren knew any better, but I must say she was altogether unqualified to write the History she has undertaken, if she did not. For the whole time I was in the commission with Franklin and Lee, I did the whole business of it. Luckily, I have in my possession the original letter-book of the commissioners. It is a folio, and pretty full. Every letter in it but two was written by my hand, and appears in my handwriting. If Mrs. Warren will make me a visit, I will show her this book, one copy of which I left with Franklin, and another I sent to Congress. Congress, I believe, thought there was something of consequence done, and of difficulty too; otherwise, they would not probably have sent me to Europe again to make peace, and that alone, and that with so much unanimity. Through the whole of this period, all the public papers were put into my hands. I disposed of them as they required, and wrote all the answers to letters and all other public papers in my book, had them copied fair by a clerk; and Mr.

Franklin and Mr. Lee had nothing to do but come to my apartment and sign them. This was the daily course, except in cases where I thought there might be a difference of opinion among us, and then I consulted my colleagues first, and then drew the papers according to the sense of the majority. I had afterwards a great deal to do; and I did it in getting the frigate "Alliance" fit for sea, in composing the almost war that existed between the captain and his purser on one side, and all his other officers and crew on the other, and in disposing of five and thirty prisoners who had been arrested for mutiny and a plot to carry the ship to England.

Under my single Commission for peace, I resided in France but a few months, from February to July, I believe, only. In that time, I did business enough, at the express desire of De Vergennes, to involve me in a controversy with him about paper money, and to convince him of the inadmissibility of a plan that he urged me to recommend to Congress, the most absurd, unjust, and ridiculous suggestion that ever came into the head of a French projector. It was no less than for Congress to distinguish Frenchmen from all other nations, and even from all our own American citizens, by paying Frenchmen for the paper money in their hands or the hands of their agents in silver and gold, dollar for dollar, when we had resolved to pay to our own people only one for forty. I conducted that controversy with perfect decorum, transmitted all the papers *pro* and *con* to Congress, and received from them a vote of thanks for my industrious attention to the interest and honor of my country, and especially in this controversy with De Vergennes.

After I had been in Holland about a year, the Count de Vergennes desired to see me at Versailles to consult with me as the sole minister for peace concerning certain propositions of the Emperor of Germany and the Empress of Russia of a mediation of the two imperial courts, in

order to bring forward a peace among the belligerent powers, among whom America was one. I went to Versailles accordingly, and consulted with the minister, and stated to him in writing the rules and principles by which I should conduct the negotiation. These were the same that were observed by me and Mr. Jay, when the final negotiation came on.

I will now explain to you, Madam, the want of love to me in Franklin, and the hatred of Vergennes. Franklin, like many others, thought himself the founder of the American Republic. He had been flattered, both by Europe and America, till his head was turned. He thought himself injured because he was not appointed by Congress to conduct all their negotiations in Europe. He has repeatedly told me that there was no need of more than one. De Vergennes was of the same opinion, and wished Franklin should be the man, because he could manage him as he pleased. Disappointed in this, he united with Deane against Lee and Izard, in hopes of getting rid of all of them. Disappointed in this, and finding me sent to Europe, he was more alarmed than ever. When peace was contemplated, it was the expectation of Franklin to be appointed alone to negotiate it, and Vergennes wished and expected it too. But his agents in America found that Franklin could not be carried, and I was elected almost unanimously to that exclusive commission, which they had destined for Franklin. This, as a demonstration that I possessed more of the confidence of our country than himself, mortified Franklin and all his friends beyond expression. When Vergennes and Franklin found themselves disappointed in getting the philosopher alone into the commission for peace, they set themselves to intriguing with all their engines to get others associated with me; and this point they could not carry without courting the vanity of every part of the Union. For this end, five commissioners were determined on, — John Adams, Benja-

min Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson.

By thus uniting the local feelings of every part of the continent, they carried the new arrangement. No man on earth rejoiced in this more than I did; and no man had so much reason, for I had trembled under the burden of my responsibility from the moment it had been imposed on my shoulders. But the new Commission brought a real mortification to me.

My Commission for commerce was revoked, and none given to the five Commissioners for peace. In this De Vergennes had completely carried his point. But both Franklin and Vergennes were excessively mortified in another point. In spite of all their intrigues, they had not only failed in obtaining the sole power to Franklin: Congress had been so obstinate and disobedient as to give the first place in the new Commission to John Adams. Here, Madam, you have the true secret why Mr. Adams was not beloved by Mr. Franklin. Jealousy and envy engender malice and revenge. Franklin found that John Adams possessed more of the confidence of his country than himself.

If you have ever seen Mr. Marbois' famous intercepted letter, you can be at no loss for the motive of De Vergennes' dislike of me. Marbois had not dared to write that letter, if he had not been previously instructed by Vergennes to oppose us in our claims to the fisheries and our extended boundaries. Marbois' conduct was directly contrary to all his declarations to me in our voyage together, even on the Grand Bank of Newfoundland. He must therefore have found instructions at Philadelphia, contrary to his own opinion.

If you have seen a publication entitled "Politique des Cabinets," which has been published by the late revolutionary government, you must have seen the clearest demonstration of every thing I ever suspected concern-

ing the designs of Vergennes. There is a memorial in it of Vergennes, which lays open his whole head and heart in relation to America. No wonder he did not like me, when he found me an inflexible and incorruptible opposer of all his plans, and especially that I thwarted, foiled, defeated, and completely triumphed over him in every one of his projects respecting fisheries, boundaries, independence, a treaty with Holland, a loan of money, and every thing else excepting the unfortunate Commission for commerce with England: here he succeeded, to the incalculable damage of America, by the timidity of some and the selfish views of others in Congress. I know what I say in all these points, and could write a history of them much more correct, Madam, than yours.

After all, I have no reason to think I was hated by a single courtier, not even by Vergennes. I did business with him often, after all this, in perfect good humor and politeness; dined frequently at his table. My integrity was acknowledged both by him and his master, to the last. Of this I have unquestionable testimony.

I was not summoned from the Hague, by Congress, to assist in the important work of negotiating peace. As I had been alone in the old Commission for peace, given me in 1779, and had communicated to Congress all my proceedings, and was now placed at the head of the new Commission, Congress knew that I should attend the negotiation as soon as it was proper. Congress, indeed, passed a resolution enjoining on all their Commissioners to attend, but this was intended for Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Laurens. Mr. Jefferson, nevertheless, never attended at all; and Mr. Laurens, not till the last evening of the conferences, before the signature of the preliminary articles, when he gave his vote like a man upon the article of the fishery, and procured the insertion of an article concerning slaves.

The Dutch government never conceded to the propriety

of assisting the United States by an advance of moneys, as you say in the 178th page. Neither the States-General, nor the states of any province, nor the regency of any city, ever interfered in the affair of money; nor did the affluent merchants, or others in possession of vast private property, offer with so much alacrity their handsome loans. The great capitalists were very timorous. Some of the most respectable had even refused to open a loan for me. Mr. John Hodgson was the only millionaire who would consent to accept even that lucrative office. Some houses of small capital, but good credit, were ready enough to accept. I had infinite difficulty and perplexity with this business, which would require too much time to develope. At last, the house of William and Jean Willink were persuaded to unite with the Van Staphorsts, and De la Lande and Fynje; and a loan was opened with moderate, but not great success, at first. The Willinks were opulent, and had more opulent relations.

I am, Madam, as in former letters, still your friend,

JOHN ADAMS.

MRS. MERCY WARREN.

No. 4.

MRS. MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS.

PLYMOUTH, MASS., August 7, 1807.

JOHN ADAMS, Esq.

I know not how to satisfy the demands you make upon my time and patience, without entering into discussions which at this late day I have no wish to call up. Yet the claim of your illiberal criticism, still kept up in your subsequent letters, obliges me, however reluctantly, to pursue my remarks. I shall therefore, as leisure permits, attend to most of your paragraphs, exclusive of the labored details relative to foreign ministers and their Commissions,

and several other circumstances with which I thought I had little to do, and never have much attended to.

I cannot investigate the motives that have induced you to copy and forward to me your diplomatic Commissions, and a detail of transactions in the course of negotiations which I never thought myself obliged to retrace, when writing a general and concise narrative of American affairs through the Revolution. It is not necessary to recur to the style or tenor of your Commissions to convince me or the world that your countrymen had a very high opinion of your abilities and integrity; nor had they any reason to suspect there would ever be any deviation in you from the republican system which they early adopted, and in which they, in general, still persevere. Perhaps yourself, or some other historian, may in future more particularly inform the world, though perhaps not more truly, relative to many diplomatic circumstances too intricate for me to develope, and which no other historian has yet brought forward.

I do not see that the mention of Mr. Jay's appointment to Madrid, or the appointment of any other gentleman abroad, could be construed a neglect of you. I had some general knowledge of the appointment of foreign ministers, and I have had the *presumption* to name them when I thought it necessary, and to speak of them as I thought their merits or demerits required.

It is true I have also mentioned Mr. Laurens's being commissioned to the Dutch Republic; but, from the concise mode of narration which I had prescribed, I never thought myself obliged to enter into all the political, aristocratic, or popular disputes that had occupied the seven United Provinces from the establishment of the House of Orange to the present day, nor to define the features of their government with such precision as to decide whether, in the strictest sense, they leaned most to republicanism or to aristocracy. It was enough for me that from my

earliest youth I had heard them denominated the *Dutch Republic*, in conversation or in writings, either diplomatic, commercial, or historic; and you make use of the same term yourself in your letter to Congress of August 4th, 1779, when you speak of "the means by which the two republics arrived at independency." Yet, in a late letter to me, you have said, "The Dutch nation have no idea of any republic but an aristocracy."

I have never designed to record any history of their "*uproars*," as you style them when you speak of their dissensions: these things were totally irrelevant to my own plan, which was only to give a general sketch of the state of parties and the effects upon the Dutch republic of the dismemberment of the American colonies from Great Britain.

You presume, however, to say that "Mrs. Warren has in her History manifestly countenanced, encouraged, and flattered the falsehoods and slanders which popular prejudices always engender." You proceed with very severe animadversions through the letter. Yet I am very glad you have found any one thing in the History you are striving to traduce that has made you feel good-natured enough to smile. What operated on your risible faculties, you say, was Mrs. Warren's assertion that "Mr. Adams's manners and habits were more assimilated to the Dutch than to the French nation." This was no "satirical sneer:" she thought it true then, she thinks it so still; and why not? You have observed in one of your letters that you "love the Dutchmen with all their faults. There is a strong spirit of liberty among them, and many excellent qualities." That nation is generally characterized as of a more grave and solemn cast than the French: their manners might therefore be properly contrasted with the levity of Frenchmen. But I shall make no further comment on the similarity or dissimilarity of manners. I only observe that no Frenchman would so frequently, and in

such rude language as Mr. Adams has used, give the direct lie to a lady: possibly a Dutchman might, if he was convinced it was much for his interest.

I leave the Dutch Republic and their affairs for the present, after observing that I did not know the form of Mr. Laurens's Commission no more than yourself, until I had consulted the private journals of Congress, which you ought also to have done before you declared that you never knew Mr. Laurens had any Commission, or that you knew nothing about it. If you will take the trouble to look over the private journals of Congress for the autumn of 1779, you will there find that Mr. Laurens was not only appointed an agent to negotiate a loan of money, but that he was vested with a Commission couched in as respectful, honorable, and confidential terms as had been expressed to any diplomatic character, and was fully empowered to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with the United Provinces of the Low Countries. After you have done this, you will surely acknowledge that this gentleman was invested with ample powers to transact the most important affairs at the Hague. In consequence of his unfortunate capture, you repaired to Holland, where your negotiations did you much honor; and, when it was recorded by Mrs. Warren, she thought it was done in so just, correct, and gratifying a manner, that Mr. Adams, with all his suspicions, would never complain of either partiality, malignancy, or want of veracity.

"The copious stream of Mrs. Warren's historical eloquence," on which you observe, page 176, Vol. III., appears to have excited your resentment without the smallest foundation. I am ready to answer to every query relative to this offensive page. In the first place, I reply that the assertion that Mr. Adams enjoyed himself better while residing in the Dutch Republic than he had done before is founded on your own letters to General Warren, myself, and to others; after which I have introduced a very

complimentary sentence to Mr. Adams, of which he takes no notice.

I have next asserted that Mr. Adams's genius was not altogether calculated for a court life, &c. You petulantly ask, "How does Mrs. Warren know this; and who was her informer?" She needed no informer: she had been acquainted with Mr. Adams herself for near thirty years. She knew his plain manners and unpolished habits were not altogether calculated for a court life, without having entered herself into the conviviality and gayety of Parisian taste, and ventured to add from the sources above mentioned that in France he was never happy. I have no objections, sir, to your publishing, in your own time, the reasons why you were "not beloved by your venerable colleague, Dr. Franklin."

The thwartings of the Minister, the Count de Vergennes, and the vexation and complaints you have uttered against him, as well as the Doctor, would make a considerable pamphlet from your own letters now lying in my cabinet.

I did not deny that either of these circumstances was "the greatest glory of your life," as you yourself affirm.

You go on thus: "Your idols, Mrs. Warren, will not have their worship increased, if you force me to expose them naked." When I can devise who you can possibly mean by "my idols," I may say something to that. If there has ever been any American in France to whom I paid too much devotion, it was to yourself; and, if this *idol* should *expose* himself *naked*, the undue worship that has been paid to him by others might decline.

Where I have observed that you had been ridiculed by the fashionable and polite as deficient in the "*je ne sais quoi*," I did not say that Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jay, or any other of the American ministers were possessed of all the graces required by Chesterfield; nor have I said whether they were or were not ridiculed, nor how much they deserved it.

Your allegations, sir, with regard to yourself, are sometimes very contradictory: this may be owing sometimes to the warmth, and sometimes to the frigidity of your temper, in which there is certainly a commixture, or you could not at one time boast that you went on as smooth as oil, without enmity, jealousy, or hatred, from any man or woman in France; at another, chagrin and disgust from such causes appear in various portions of your letters to your confidential friends.

In one page, you say you were never ridiculed by any one person in France, — that it was the "*Grand Franklin*" on whom all the ridicule fell, and on whom the satirists of France exercised their wit; in the next, you ask, "Was there a king or a priest in Europe, or a noble or a magistrate, who was not ridiculed? Was there a faithful husband or a chaste wife in France who was not ridiculed? I trow not."

To what shall such glaring inconsistencies be imputed? The world must account, and not I, for your paroxysms of rage, which frequently burst forth in the most indecent epithets, even towards your correspondent, who has been treated from her youth to nearly the age of fourscore with every mark of delicacy, respect, and affection, by every worthy character with whom she has been acquainted; and she has seldom associated with any one who did not deserve the same returns of kindness and consideration from herself.

I need not adduce any other proofs of your fall from decency and dignity than to remind you of your own details. . . . .

These things are sufficient to lead me to wish to close this correspondence, lest it should again cause a blush in the face of age, though not for herself, yet for Mr. Adams, who, with his abilities and apparent regard to moral obligation, should put such proofs into my hands that he is capable of the lowest and most affrontive ribaldry to a

lady who for many years he addressed, not only in the most respectful, but even adulatory strain. He certainly must have forgotten that he once thus addressed the same lady: —

"MADAM, — I remember that Bishop Burnet, in a letter he once wrote to Lady Rachel Russell, the virtuous daughter of the great Southampton, and unfortunate wife of Lord Russell, who died a martyr to English liberties, says, 'Madam, I never attempt to write to you but my pen, conscious of its inferiority, falls out of my hand.' The polite prelate did not write to that excellent lady in so bold a figure with half the sincerity that I could apply it to myself when writing to Mrs. Warren."

The above, and many other letters of the same style and tenor, are deposited where they may be brought into use, if necessity should require it, in some future day.

It is not strange that Mr. Adams's diffidence and trepidation should have worn off by time; but it is wonderful that he should have lost all sense of decency and politeness due to the sex, even where there is no friendship, by a temporary residence in the polite schools of European courts.

But as this is proved by his letters, from the 11th of July, through all his subsequent pages, I am under the painful necessity of continuing to remark on his affrontive paragraphs.

In yours of August 3d, you have told Mrs. Warren that she "has exposed herself to eternal ridicule by her very lady-like insinuations and assertions."

Must not this be very alarming to an author as well as to a woman of sensibility and delicacy? On what point of ridicule would Mrs. Warren's character stand, were she to write her History over again, and correct her *errors*, as you seem to wish her to do, by contradicting her former assertions? She must tell the world that Mr. Adams was

no monarchist; that he had no partiality for the habits, manners, or government of England; that he was a man of fashion, that his polite accomplishments rendered him completely qualified for the refinements of Parisian taste; that he had neither frigidity nor warmth of temper, that his passions were always on a due equipoise; that he was beloved by every man, woman, and child in France; that he had neither ambition nor pride of talents, and that he "had no talents to be proud of;" that he was never hated by courtiers and partisans, nor thwarted by the Count de Vergennes, but that this minister and himself were always on the most cordial terms; that he was a favorite of the administrators of the affairs of France; that they loved him for his yielding, compliant temper and manners; that he was always a republican, though he has asserted there was no possibility of understanding or defining the term republicanism; that in France he was always happy; that in England he suppressed the American insurrections by the defence of their Constitutions; that his writings suppressed rebellion, quelled the insurgents, established the State and Federal Constitutions, and gave the United States all the liberty, republicanism, and independence they enjoy; that his name was always placed at the head of every public commission; that nothing had been done, that nothing could be done, neither in Europe nor America, without his sketching and drafting the business, from the first opposition to British measures in the year 1764 to signing the treaty of peace with England in the year 1783.

Mr. Adams might indeed think this a very pleasant portrait, but I doubt whether the world would receive it as a better likeness than the one drawn in the "copious stream of Mrs. Warren's historical eloquence," which appears to be so unacceptable to Mr. Adams.

I have it under your own hand that nothing was done, either in England or France, but by your efforts. You

say in the letter before me, page 12th: "For the whole time I was in the Commission with Franklin and Lee, I did the whole business of it. Luckily, I have in my possession the original letter-book of the Commissioners. It is a folio, and pretty full. Every letter in it but two was written by my hand, and appears in my handwriting. If Mrs. Warren will make me a visit, I will show her this book."

I have neither health nor inclination to make such a visit for such a purpose; but, if Mr. Adams will make me a visit, I will do all in my power consistent with conscience to soothe his wounded feelings and to restore his friendly disposition towards those with whom he ought never to have been at enmity.

When I revised my History for the press, which I often did, I aimed to make it a concise and just narrative of facts, and to give a correct, and not a labored, detail of character. I had neither time, inclination, nor abilities to search all the diplomatic Commissions or Resolves of Congress, any further than was relevant to the concise sketch of character and events, the original plan of the work.

In these short personal sketches, I omitted many things that might have been said relative to yourself as well as to many, very many, worthy characters who acted a noble part through the Revolutionary struggle. But, though I omitted very many things that might have been said, I do not recollect, to use your own expression, "upon my faith and honor," I ever penned a line that I did not know, or believe upon very substantial grounds, to be literally and sacredly true.

Mercy Warren.

No. 7.

JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

QUINCY, August 8, 1807.

DEAR MADAM, — More demonstrations of your friendship for Mr. Adams appear in the 229th page of the third volume. The same disposition to wink him out of sight, to represent him in an odious light, to lessen and degrade him below his station, which runs through every part of your History in which he appears, is very visible here again: —

"Mr. John Adams had left Holland, and joined the plenipotentiaries of the United States, previous to the agreement on provisional articles for peace, signed November (you should have known it was the thirtieth), 1782."

I was engaged in Holland in very diligent service, in order to complete a treaty and negotiate a loan. The treaty was an unwieldy business. It must be conducted by me in English, and by a large committee from all the seven provinces in Dutch. When any proposition was made by me, it was in English; but it was expected, and would have been insisted on, that the English should be accompanied with a translation into Dutch or French. There were some gentlemen among the Dutch whose opinions must be consulted, whose disposition was to retard rather than accelerate. When any proposition was made by me, I must first write it in English, then translate it, or get it translated, then have it copied and sent. When the answer or a counter proposition or project came to me, it was in Dutch.

I understood not enough of this language to depend on my own construction of it; consequently, must procure it to be translated into French or English. These projects and counter projects, and these translations in various languages, occasioned a delay that was as pleasing to the

English and Stadtholderian party as it was irksome and inconvenient to me.

The manœuvres concerning the loan, in which I was thwarted and embarrassed by the French, as much as in the treaty I was by the English party, the points and questions which were started by these able negotiators, — gave me a great deal of trouble, and occasioned long delays.

The loan was of great importance to my country, and occasioned also much trouble and delay. I was loth to leave these important objects unfinished. On the other hand, a Latin Commission from the King of England appeared in Paris to treat of peace; but no notice was taken of America, except under the vague general style of France, Spain, and any other States. A copy of this was sent to me. I wrote to my colleagues that I would treat with England under no such Commission, that I would not leave the business I was engaged in till a Commission should appear to treat with *the United States of America* as well as with France, Spain, and Holland. Another Commission was sent over to Paris and communicated to me, still without an acknowledgment of the *United States of America*. I wrote again to my colleagues that I would not go to Paris to meet any such Commission. It was trifling with us. As soon as a Commission should appear to treat with the United States of America, I would leave all my engagements in Holland and fly to Paris, but not before. At last, a Commission to Mr. Oswald appeared to treat with the United States of America. The moment I received it, I acquainted my Dutch negotiators that our treaty must be finished and signed immediately, or not at all; for my presence was indispensable at Paris. The treaty was immediately finished and signed, and I was in Paris as soon as post horses could carry me. When I arrived in Paris, nothing was done. Franklin would agree with Jay in nothing. Mr. Jay had drawn up a memorial to the French

Minister, a very able paper, to convince him that we ought not to treat but with a Commission acknowledging the United States a belligerent power. Franklin would not sign it. Franklin and his satellites insinuated about that Mr. Jay was a lawyer, and addicted to disputation, &c. Immediately after my arrival in Paris, Mr. Jay communicated to me all that had passed, enumerated all his embarrassments, stated to me the principles on which he had acted; that Mr. Franklin would agree with him in nothing; that he had sketched a plan of a treaty, but that nothing had been done, and nothing discussed. I told him the principles on which he had acted were the same on which I had insisted during the whole time that I had been alone in the Commission; that the Count de Vergennes knew it, for I had communicated them to him in writing at the time of the proposed mediation of the two imperial courts; that I approved of every step he had taken, and that he might depend upon it I would pursue the system to the end. The next day I went out to Passy, and spent part of the day with Dr. Franklin. I wished to know his sentiments, but not a word could I get out of him. Solemn, frigid silence on the subject of our public affairs, merry and pleasant enough about trifles and tittle-tattle. In the end, I told him that I had conversed fully with Mr. Jay, approved every step he had taken, and should proceed with him throughout upon the same principles which he knew I had always professed and maintained towards the French, considering myself as a servant of the nation, totally independent of England, upon an equal footing with her, and as independent of France as of England. The old politician said nothing! But, when the first conferences were opened a day or two after, he turned to his colleagues, and said, "I will go on with you, and treat without consulting the court, and the rather because they communicate nothing to us."

All the reason and address of Mr. Jay had never been

able to bring him to this; but, when he saw that two could and would make a treaty without him, he thought that would make an ill sound in America, and Europe too.

"He was no favorite of the officers and administrators of the Gallican Court." What then? Was Mr. Lee, Mr. Izard, or Mr. Jay, a favorite? They loved their country better than France: so did I. No American minister ever was a favorite but Mr. Deane and Mr. Franklin, and by this time, at least, you know the reason of it. It was no more nor less than a servile compliance with their intrigues, however absurd, unjust, and ruinous to the honor and interest of America. "His manners were not adapted to render him acceptable in that refined and polished nation." My manners again? Why am I singled out to be stigmatized as a clown? Because Mrs. Warren has a particular spite against me, the cause of which shall be investigated in its proper place. In the mean time, I affirm that the assertion is false. My manners were as acceptable and as well accepted as those of any American who ever resided in France in a public character. "Nor did he appear to have much partiality for or confidence in them." He certainly never had any partiality for them from his cradle to this day. Had he indulged any partiality for them in his public station, he would have violated his duty, and justly forfeited the esteem of his country. "Or confidence in them;" in the King he had the utmost confidence, believing him a sincere, cordial friend to America, and desiring nothing but justice and good faith from us, and determined to act with justice, good faith, and generosity, too, towards us.

In the Count de Vergennes I had no confidence at all, believing him to be fixed in designs to deprive us of our fisheries and half our territory; to prevent our connections with Spain, Holland, and all other countries, if he could, that we might be made as dependent on France as possible; and to sow the seeds of eternal discord with England par-

ticularly, by preventing a treaty of commerce between us. That I was right in this belief is fully proved by a thousand facts; but Mr. Marbois' letter, and the "Politique des Cabinets," have placed it beyond all doubt with the present age and posterity. You have slided over Mr. Franklin in page 230 too softly and smoothly for an impartial historian. A feather often shows which way the wind blows. An exemplification of this light proverb is in the 231st page. "David Hartley, Esq., on the part of Great Britain, and Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams, Esquires, in behalf of America, affixed their names and seals to the treaty." How could this historical departure from all my Commissions, from our joint Commission, and from the treaty itself, have happened? You know or ought to have known, before you attempted to write such a History, that I had been alone in the Commission for more than a year before Mr. Franklin or Mr. Jay had any relation to it; that I had been employed in various negotiations under it, in which I had established all the principles upon which a majority of the new Commissioners finally acted. You knew that I was placed by my sovereign at the head of the new Commission, that I acted as the head of it through all the conferences, and in the final conclusion signed and sealed it, before all the other ministers. Yet, in your impartial History, you are pleased to place both Franklin and Jay before me. This discovers such a want of candor, such a wilful departure from the most authentic documents of History, public records, that I can account for it only by a spirit of inveterate bitterness against me, and a determined resolution, right or wrong, to strip me of all my laurels. You will say, no doubt, this is "sighing for rank." Very well: say so, Mrs. Warren. Make the most of it. But I say it is not sighing for rank. You may call it boasting of rank, with more color. But why should not I blazon my escutcheon as well as Mrs. Warren hers? But, to be

sober, I deny that it is boasting of rank. Mrs. Warren boasts that her brother (and consequently herself) was equal to any one in the State in point of birth. In the name of all heraldry and all common sense, is not birth rank, — at least as much as precedency in a procession? And yet your co-patriots will contend for this as sharply as the Apostles debated the question which should be greatest.

In delineating the character and painting the complexion of this transaction, I would appeal to Thucydides, Plutarch, Livy, or Tacitus, whether this circumstance was not essential to be remarked, to show the real character of all my colleagues; of the Count de Vergennes and his myrmidons, among whom were Deane and twenty others, among whom was even Paul Jones; of myself, and above all of Congress. The unbiassed judgment, the spontaneous volition, the natural feeling and affection of Congress, had selected me from all the other candidates to negotiate peace and commerce alone.

My despatches had almost daily arrived to them, giving them an account of every step of my progress: of my passage in a leaky ship, four-and-twenty days on the point of sinking; of my journey through Spain, which was worse than a campaign in the field; of my journey through France, and my conduct at Paris and Versailles; of my journey to Holland, and all my conduct there. After all this, all the intrigues of De Vergennes and Franklin, Deane, and all his friends, and all the influence of De la Luzerne and Marbois, could not carry Franklin nor Jay, Jefferson nor Laurens, to the head of the new Commission. Jay had been President of Congress, Jefferson had been Governor of Virginia, Laurens had been President of Congress, Franklin had been I never knew what in politics; yet all these interests could not carry any one to the head of this new Commission but John Adams. Congress, to their honor,

had then the integrity, candor, and fortitude to resist all influence, and refuse to disgrace, degrade, or discourage a man who had been the first object of their choice, whose whole conduct they approved, and who they knew had run the gauntlet through burning ploughshares, between ranks of janizaries armed with scorpions, and reached the goal without a scratch upon his foot or a sting or a scar upon his back. Now, Madam, call this vanity; call it pride of talent, or call it, as some of your French friends call all moral principle, the "vanity of human virtue." You are welcome, Madam, to make the severest use of it in your power. You knew, Madam, and General Warren knew, that in those times I had much more of the confidence of Congress, and of all the most intelligent and disinterested people in America who had any access to the secret of affairs, than Franklin. Congress had seen Franklin and me together before them above a year, *i. e.* from May, 1775, to the autumn of 1776. They had seen me active and alert in every branch of business, both in the House and on committees, constantly proposing measures, supporting those I approved when moved by others, opposing such as I disapproved, discussing and arguing on every question. On the contrary, they had seen Franklin, from day to day, sitting in silence, a great part of his time fast asleep in his chair. He was employed on committees, more in compliance with the prejudices of the people in Europe and America, than for any use he was of, or any service he performed. Congress had seen my despatches from Europe, and compared them with those of Franklin. They had distinguished mine with high applause on many occasions, Franklin's never.

In page 250, you say that "in 1783 interested and ambitious men endeavored to confound ideas and darken opinion, by asserting that republicanism was an indefinite term." This is news to me. I thought my enemies had agreed to impute all this to me. I was not here, and did

not return till five years afterwards. But, whoever asserted it in 1783, I asserted in print in 1786, and have frequently asserted it since, in conversation and in public; and I now most solemnly repeat it, and you, Mrs. Warren, and General Warren too, know it to be true. Ask your friend, Mr. Speaker Morton, ask any other man of sense and learning, of your party throughout the nation, and if he answers at all, and has any regard to his character, he must say the same thing. Fraud lurks in generals. There is not a more unintelligible word in the English language than republicanism. Neither yourself, nor the General, have ever condescended to commit yourselves to any definition of it, and I venture to say you dare not attempt it to this hour. Do you mean by republicanism a government in a single house of representatives, exercising all legislative, executive, and judiciary functions, without a governor, or senate, or permanent judges? I presume to say you dare not say this. Do you mean a mixed government of a senate and house without a governor? I believe you will not say this. Do you mean a governor, senate, house, and judges, as they are in this State? If you do, I agree with you in all your republicanism. This is my republicanism, and I was the father of it in this State in 1779. But, if you agree to this now, it is but very lately that you would avow it.

Your thirty-first chapter, Madam, is like mustard after dinner, as our friends the French say; or like the volunteer toast after a feast, when the original list is exhausted. After the termination of the Revolutionary War, your subject was completed. I have no objection, however, to follow you. The same good-will to me appears in the supplement as in the body of the work. Not the least notice is taken of my repeated elections as Vice-President, nor of a laborious discharge of the very arduous duties of that office for eight years. Three successive elections, two as Vice-President and one as President,

might have convinced you that the people did not believe the falsehoods that were fabricated concerning my monarchical or aristocratical biasses, which you have so unjustly countenanced. Nay, I presume to say that the people do not believe them at this hour. No, it was not until twelve years had passed, and a ruthless host of liars and libellers had been hired, like mercenary Hessians and Anspackers, to conquer America, to propagate every species of slander in newspapers, pamphlets, hand-bills, and by secret spies, emissaries, and agents throughout the Union. And, after all, Colonel Burr and Alexander Hamilton effected the revolution. Do you glory in the exploits of these virtuous men and pure republicans? Yes, I know you do. But even these heroes could not have effected it, if the election of South Carolina had been held in Charleston. Though New York and Pennsylvania had been turned by your determined republicans, Mr. Burr and Mr. McKean, I had an equal number of votes till you come to South Carolina. Shall I hint to you, Madam, a few of the plausible reports they propagated among the Germans in their own language, and among all the religious sectaries through the United States? They not only spread the splendid history of the alliance between the two royal houses of Adams and Guelph, and a thousand others explanatory and corroboratory of that probable invention, but that President Adams was determined to take away their lands and give them to the Yankees. Gentlemen of the best characters have informed me that in travelling the back parts of Pennsylvania they have heard a general mourning and grief and rage among the Germans, crying: "What a dreadful man this President Adams is! We came here from Germany many years ago. We have labored very hard, night and day. We have got a little land, some of us more, some less, some of us three or four thousand acres, perhaps, by our sweat; and now this cruel President Adams is going to take it all away from us, and give

it to them New England men." Other reports were spread among the religious men and sects, not only the German Lutherans and the German Calvinists, but all other denominations through the Union, — Catholic, Protestant Episcopalians, Methodists, Moravians, Anabaptists, Menonists, Quakers, &c. This was the decisive stroke of that infernal policy which decided the election. Among all the sources of my information on this head, I will select an anecdote which will give you a clear idea of it. When on my last journey to Washington I passed through Yorktown in Pennsylvania, where more than twenty years before I had sat some months in Congress, the people had been violently agitated by electioneering passions. I had scarcely sat down by the fireside at an inn where I was to sleep, before a German clergyman sent the landlord to me to desire the liberty of speaking to me. I prayed the landlord to introduce the gentleman without ceremony or a moment's delay. Behold the dialogue between us.

Domine. "I am the minister of a German church. My poor people are honest, but ignorant of the English language, and liable to be imposed on by artful and designing men. Many persons have come among us, and many papers in our language have been sent among us. My poor people come to me to ask me what they shall do. I have long wished to see you, though a stranger, that I might tell you what reports are sent among my poor Germans, and that I might ask you what truth there is in them."

Adams. "I thank you, sir, for your candor and frankness. Please to mention the reports, and I will answer to them with the same frankness and candor."

Minister. "They report that you made the Constitution of Massachusetts, and have had influence enough in that State to establish the Presbyterian religion, and make all other sects of Christians pay taxes for the support of it."

Adams. "I had a share in the Convention that formed the Constitution, but I did not draw the article respecting religion; but that article, as it is, obliges no man to pay to the support of any particular sect. Every man is at liberty to apply his taxes to the support of his own church and minister."

Minister. "Taxes, however, they are obliged to pay."

Adams. "Taxes for building churches and supporting ministers, with some limitations and exceptions that I am not certain that I remember, they are obliged to pay."

Minister. "Well, that is an establishment of Christianity." This was said with an arch and smiling countenance, which I understood very well to mean: I am very glad they have established Christianity, but I must not acknowledge it, because my people have been taught to believe that any establishment in Pennsylvania will be an establishment of Scotch Presbyterianism.

Adams. "What other reports, sir?"

Minister. "A great many, but foolish ones. I will mention one more. They say that you belonged to Dr. Priestley's church in England, and used to sit down to the Lord's table with him after hearing him preach against the Divinity of Christ."

Adams. "I never was in Dr. Priestley's church or meeting. I never heard him preach against the Divinity of Christ, and never received the communion with him as I remember."

Minister. "You cannot conceive, sir, how much distressed my poor Germans have been, nor how much anxiety and trouble I have had with them; but I am very glad to have seen you, for now I can speak from your own mouth."

This idea was propagated through the Union that I was a Presbyterian, that I was about to introduce an establishment of Presbyterianism, and compel all other denominations to pay taxes to the support of Presbyterian

ministers and churches; and a kind of continental synod, or general assembly, of Presbyterians, which was called at Philadelphia a little before this time, an innovation that alarmed all but Presbyterians, contributed infinitely to countenance these electioneering manœuvres. Upon the Catholics, I have reason to believe they had some effect. Upon the Protestant Episcopalians, they had little or none; for these had received too much countenance and assistance from me in Holland and England for them to believe that I was a bigoted Presbyterian, or that I would promote any establishment that would do injustice to them or any other denomination. With the Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, and Moravians, as well as the Dutch and German Lutherans and Calvinists, it had an immense effect, and turned them in such numbers as decided the election. They said, let us have an Atheist or Deist or any thing rather than an establishment of Presbyterianism.

. . . . . .

These are the principles, motives, and artifices that influence our elections, Madam. Of what avail is virtue, talents, services, in such scenes of corruption? What is this better than purchasing votes with money? When a nation is so nearly divided that the majority may be decided by a few thousands, a few hundreds, or sometimes even by a single vote, and this vote, or this hundred, or this thousand votes, can be obtained by such fabrications as these, bad men will be always sure of their elections, because they will employ such means without scruple, while good men will despise and abhor them.

There are scattered in various parts of your History, Madam, insinuations about titles and a titled nobility, &c., which I supposed were intended as sarcasms upon me.

I arrived from Europe on the 17th of June, 1788, soon after the adoption of the National Constitution by the State of Massachusetts. A title to be given to the President

when he should be chosen, and the government come into operation, was a common topic of conversation, whether it should be Excellency or any higher title. The first person that I remember to have heard propose a title was our present Governor, Mr. Sullivan. He said, when Congress should come together, they would have nothing to do (such was the form of his expression) but to give the President the title of "His Most Patriotic Majesty." After Congress were together, and Washington had arrived, and before his inauguration, I was informed that your correspondent, Mrs. Montgomery, had in a party of ladies and gentlemen taken the lead, and given to the President the title of "His Highness." After all this, the two Houses of Congress resolved that the President should be received in the senate chamber by the Vice-President. I arose from the chair, and respectfully asked the direction of the Senate by what style I should address him, — by the title of, Sir, Your Honor, Your Excellency, or any other. A senator arose, and moved that a committee should be appointed to consider what title should be affixed to the office. Mr. Richard Henry Lee, I think, was chairman of the committee; and he drew the report, made it to the House, and it was accepted by a large majority, among whom was Mr. Lee himself, and several others as determined republicans as any in the United States or in the world. The report gave the title of "His Highness" to the President. It was sent down to the House. There the members were more equally divided. Mr. Madison was in doubt what was best to be done. The repulsive force began to be felt between Madison and Hamilton. They had acted, contended, and written in concert, hitherto, in the formation, recommendation, and adoption, of the national Constitution. The moment was now arrived when they must divide. Washington should have appointed Madison Secretary of State when he appointed Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury. This would have continued the harmony between

them. Madison visited Washington to know his sentiments. I knew his sentiments before. He had conversed with me before on the subject, and I knew that his opinion was in favor of a title. I know not all that passed between Washington and Madison, because I was not present; but this I believe to be the truth from information that I ought to credit. Washington was far from expressing any disapprobation of a title, so far that he thought a decent title to the office to be useful and proper; but he wanted no title himself, and was convinced from what he heard in conversation, and read in the public papers, that if the title of Highness was given it would excite such a popular clamor that Congress would either be obliged to rescind it, or it would produce such a prejudice against the national government as would do more harm than good. Mr. Madison! Am I right in this? I appeal to you. If you contradict me, I will give it up. Mrs. Warren, if my countrymen choose to distinguish themselves from all other nations in trifles, while they are imitating them in essentials, I will not quarrel. If they would be pleased to pass a law that all magistrates, justices, judges, senators, governors, vice-presidents, and presidents shall be thee'd and thou'd as William Penn addressed King Charles and King James, I acquiesce. I have nothing to say against obedience to their sovereign will. But I will say that my obedience is implicit, and not voluntary. My opinion is unaltered. My opinion is that titles of office are useful in this country, in order to distinguish grades and facilitate subordination. Titles of office are very different from titles of nobility. Titles of office are not hereditary. Nor are they for life, unless by courtesy rather than custom; at least, in our country. The title of Your Worship, or Your Honor, or Your Excellency, is no mark of an hereditary nobility in any country; certainly not in this, any more than the title of Colonel, or Major-General. The title of Excellency is given in Europe to ambassadors, com-

manders-in-chief of armies or fleets, to governors of provinces, &c.; but none of these are hereditary. Excellency, Honor, established by the Constitution of Massachusetts, and even by law in Connecticut, are not hereditary titles. Nevertheless, I say, Go on, my dear countrymen, with the style of George Washington, John Adams, Tom Jefferson, Jemmy Sullivan, for your presidents, vice-presidents, and governors, if you will; but I will say to you that, in my humble, private opinion, your liberties will not be secured or your happiness promoted either by Quakerism or clownism. Imitate the Quakers in their virtues, not their oddities. After all, there is not a country under heaven in which titles and precedency are more eagerly coveted than in this country. The title of Excellency, and Honor, and Worship, of Councillor, Senator, Speaker, Major-General, Brigadier-General, Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, Sergeant, Corporal, and even Drummer and Fifer, is sought with as furious zeal as that of Earl, Marquis, or Duke in any other country; and as many intrigues, and as much corruption in many cases, are used to obtain them. It was my intention when I began these letters, Mrs. Warren, to have avoided any observations at present on any parts of your History but such as have an immediate relation to myself. Indeed, I shall not depart entirely from this rule in saying something of Mr. Dana. He was appointed secretary of legation to my first Commissions to negotiate peace and commerce with Great Britain. His birth, his education, his connections, his information, his talents, his services as a member of Congress were such, and the friendship which had subsisted for many years between me and his father, and his uncle, Judge Trowbridge, and himself, had been such that I thought myself honored by his appointment and connection with me. An uninterrupted harmony and friendship was maintained between us during the whole time we were together in France and in Holland, and

after we were separated by Congress, and he was sent to Russia.

In the pages 301–305 of your second volume, you have taken notice of this gentleman in a manner that shows your want of information as well as impartiality. You say that the Empress of Russia only among the European nations refused peremptorily to receive any minister at her court under the authority of the Congress of the United States of America. The truth is that every power but France had refused. Spain had refused. The Empress of Germany had refused. The King of Prussia had once promised, but afterwards refused. The Grand Duke of Tuscany had refused. Holland had refused in reality. In short, every power of Europe to whom overtures had been made had refused. How then, in order to throw a slur upon Mr. Dana, could you make this assertion: "She did not even deign to see the person sent on by Congress." Did the King of Spain deign to see Mr. Lee? Did the Empress of Germany deign to see Mr. William Lee? Did the Grand Duke of Tuscany deign to see Mr. Izard? Did the States-General of the United Provinces deign to see me till they had explicitly acknowledged the independence of America? Did the King of France deign to see Mr. Deane, Mr. Arthur Lee, or even Dr. Franklin, till a treaty had been signed by his ministers? No: from December, 1776, to February, 1778, the Grand Franklin was obliged to skulk about in obscurity in Paris, never admitted to the presence of the King, Queen, or any branch of the royal family, nor to any of the Ministers of State, unless privately and in secret; and, in truth, very often under trepidations, lest he should be finally obliged to fly the country. Inquire, Madam, if you please, of the Secretary of this Commonwealth, Mr. Jonathan Loring Austin.

Mrs. Warren should have known more of the law of nations, the policy of governments, and the etiquette of

courts, before she hazarded assertions so dogmatically; and, indeed, before she attempted to write history. She should have known more of the facts in the case. The Empress of Russia and the Roman Emperor had offered their mediation to France, England, and Spain, in order to terminate the war and decide the questions between them; particularly, whether the United States of America were, or ought to be, British subjects or an independent State! That I may not mistake or misremember any circumstance, I will send you a copy of the following letters and minutes made at the time while I was still alone in the commission for peace: —

VERSAILLES, July 7, 1781. HÔTEL DE JOIE.

SIR, — I have the honor to inform your Excellency that, upon an intimation from you, signified to me by Mr. Beringer, and afterwards by the Duke de la Vauguyon, that the interests of the United States required me here. I arrived last night in Paris, and am come to-day to Versailles, to pay my respects to your Excellency and receive your farther communications. As your Excellency was in council when I had the honor to call at your office, and as it is very possible that some other day may be more agreeable, I have the honor to request you to appoint the time which will be most convenient for me to wait on you. I have the honor to be with great respect, sir, your

Most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

His Excellency the COMTE DE VERGENNES.

This letter I sent by my servant, who waited until the Comte descended from the council, when he delivered it into his hands. He broke the seal, read the letter, and said "he was sorry he could not see Mr. Adams, but he was obliged to go into the country immediately after dinner;" but that Mr. Adams *seroit dans le cas de voir* Mr.

de Rayneval (his first Under-Secretary of State), who lived at such a sign in the Rue St. Honoré. After dinner, I called on Mr. de Rayneval, who said: "M. le Duke de la Vauguyon has informed you that there is a question of pacification, under the mediation of the Emperor of Germany and the Empress of Russia; and it was necessary that you should have some consultations at leisure (*à loisir*) with the Comte de Vergennes, that we might understand each other's views. That he would see the Comte to-morrow morning, and write me when he would meet me. That they had not changed their principles nor their system, that the treaties were the foundation of all negotiation." I said that I lodged at the Hôtel de Valois, where I did formerly; that I should be ready to wait on the Comte when it would be agreeable to him, and to confer with him upon every thing relative to any propositions which the English might have made. He said the English had not made any propositions; but it was necessary to consider *certain points*, and make certain preparatory arrangements, to know *whether we were British subjects*, or in what light we were to be considered. I said I was not a British subject; that I had renounced that character many years ago for ever, and that I should rather be a fugitive in China or Malabar than ever reassume that character. He repeated that he would see the Comte in the morning, and write me when he would meet me.

You may easily suppose, Madam, that I was alarmed when I heard from the representative of the Comte de Vergennes that it was still a question with him whether we were British subjects, when we had declared five years before that we were not, and when the King of France, at least a year and a half before, had solemnly stipulated that we were not, and that we never should be. However, as Mr. Rayneval had recognized their principles, their system, and their treaties, I had little apprehension from the French. But I was more startled to find that the two imperial courts

were about to make a question, both about the effect of our Declaration of Independence and our treaties with France.

Mr. Rayneval, according to his promise, wrote me; and I returned him this answer: —

Paris, July 9, 1781.

Sir, — I have, this moment, the honor of your billet of this day's date, and will do myself the honor to wait on his Excellency the Comte de Vergennes at his office on Wednesday next, at nine o'clock in the morning, according to his desire. I have the honor to be, with much esteem, sir, your humble and obedient servant,

John Adams.

Mr. Rayneval.

I went to Versailles, and waited on the Comte accordingly. Mr. Rayneval was present. Every thing was conducted with perfect good humor and politeness. There was, however, a visible perplexity in the Comte's mind. At some times, he seemed resolved to show me all the propositions of the two imperial courts; at other times, he seemed to think that I ought to see only that, or part of that, which related to America. When he had shown me what he thought proper, I perceived what the points were which he wished me to consider: 1. Whether I would go to the Congress at Vienna, where the two imperial courts were to mediate or sit as umpires; 2. Whether I would appear there as a British subject, or in a doubtful character, to be decided by the umpires; 3. Whether I would consent to the meeting of such a Congress, whether I was to be in it or not; 4. Whether I would consent to the mediation or umpirage of the two imperial courts. In language the most temperate and measured, both in conversation and by several letters, I explained myself to the Comte: that I would go to Vienna, if the Comte de Vergennes should advise me to such a journey; that I could not appear there as a British subject, nor in an equivocal char-

acter; that I could not consent to any Congress, unless I was to be admitted in it as a minister plenipotentiary of the United States and an independent sovereignty; that I could consent to no mediation or umpirage until the independence of my country was acknowledged by Great Britain as well as by the two imperial courts, and by all other courts whose ambassadors were to be admitted to the Congress; that I could enter into no conferences or explanations with any minister from any power, until that minister had shown me a full power to treat with the minister of the United States of America, and exchanged copies of full powers with me. To detail all our conversations and conferences upon these points, and send you copies of my letters to the Comte upon this occasion, would be too tedious and is unnecessary. Those were the principles on which Mr. Jay and I insisted fifteen months afterwards, until a full power arrived to Mr. Oswald exactly in the form that we contended for, after two attempts had been made to evade us, and two Commissions which we reprobated sent back to England, though the Comte de Vergennes would fain have had us treat under them, and Dr. Franklin united with the Count de Vergennes.

This, Madam, will be sufficient, I hope, to explain to you the principle on which the Empress Catherine acted in refusing to receive Mr. Dana. She could not have received him, and been consistent with herself. Mr. Dana, however, was uniformly treated in that country with personal respect and civility, and was promised to be received in his public character as soon as England should acknowledge the independence of America, and was upon the point of being received and of making a treaty, when suddenly the intrigues of Vergennes and Franklin with the members of Congress effected his recall. In short, to consider the conduct of Vergennes and Franklin from first to last, it would seem as if the former had sworn an eternal separation between America and all Europe except

France, and the latter eternal hatred against every virtuous man and faithful servant of his country.

Mr. Dana was placed in no more "unpleasant predicament" than every American minister in Europe had been placed in, in every other country, even in France. Instead of "being at a loss what further steps to take," Mr. Dana was at no loss at all. He knew that he had nothing more to do but to wait till Great Britain had acknowledged our independence; and, instead of returning to America voluntarily, he did not give up his fair prospect of success in his embassy till he was recalled by Congress; for the ill-will of Vergennes and Franklin had not been able to starve him out, as they intended. He had now a friend in me, and a resource in my resources in Holland.

The note at the bottom of this page, Mrs. Warren, makes me blush for you. The "Scandalous Chronicle" says that the grand autocratrice had "an animal weakness," as a great lady of my acquaintance once expressed it to me, that she had sometimes conversed with strangers from other motives than curiosity or policy, but not publicly. She had never, that we hear or read of, acknowledged the independence of a new nation for the sake of such interviews. I blush for my country too. A certain native of America, who had been, as he thought, a great man in Europe, and who thought himself, and was thought by some others, to be the handsomest man in the world, both in face and figure, as well as the man of the most polished manners and irresistible address, — this gentleman made a voyage or a journey, or both, to Petersburg, in hopes of obtaining an audience of the autocratrice *for the benefit of his country*. But the lady was as cold as marble. Neither the face nor the figure nor the address could procure a glance or an ogle from her.

There is in this page, Madam, a manifest allusion, though colored and covered with too much art for an historian, to what I am as much ashamed as you to explain. Mr. Dana,

I presume, was not mortified that his face, figure, and address did not procure him such an audience. Besides, it is generally understood that the Empress was too much of a statesman to be influenced in politics by such audiences and interviews. She too much resembled her great example, Elizabeth of England.

In page 302d, you say "it was doubted by many whether Mr. Dana was qualified," though "an attorney of eminence." Why an attorney? Why not a barrister? "He had neither the address, the penetration, the knowledge of courts or the human character necessary for a negotiator," &c. Who, in the name of astonishment, in all America, at that time had a knowledge of courts? Franklin alone had resided in England as a despised and scorned agent at the Court of St. James's. In address and good breeding, he was excelled by very few Americans. In France and in Holland, where he lived with me, I know that his manners, address, learning, knowledge, and good sense were acknowledged by all who conversed with him. If by "address" you mean graceful attitudes and elegant motions and gestures, he had received as genteel an education as any man in America; if you mean a civil and polite conversation, he was, at least, equal to any American then in Europe.

"It requires equanimity of temper and true greatness of soul to command or retain the respect of great statesmen and politicians." Where did Mrs. Warren learn this great mystery? Has Mrs. Warren been in courts, and acquainted with great statesmen? When? Where? Oxenstiern, who had been acquainted, said to his son, "Go and see by what kind of men this world is governed." But, if equanimity of temper and greatness of soul were necessary, Mr. Dana had them in all his negotiations and public transactions in Europe, as far as I knew or ever heard, in as great a degree as any man.

Indeed, the diplomatic corps and ministers of state in

Europe are generally men of so much good humor and good breeding that one has no provocation or excuse for being otherwise with them. Even when some of them endeavor to cheat you, they do it with an external civility.

I am weary and ashamed of commenting on this monstrous perversion of truth and decorum, in this bitter satire upon a gentleman who is now living in retirement, after having filled the office of Chief Justice of the State of Massachusetts for, I believe, eighteen years after his return from Europe. In the science of jurisprudence and in general information, he was unquestionably equal to any chief justice who had ever sat upon that seat. The purity, integrity, and impartiality of his administration, has never been impeached or questioned even by his enemies. It is therefore highly reprehensible in any woman or man in the world to publish such an envenomed satire, under the grave title of a History.

Still in hopes of receiving justice and some reasonable satisfaction for the injuries you have done me, I still subscribe myself your friend,

JOHN ADAMS.

MRS. MERCY WARREN.

No. 5.

MRS. MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS.

PLYMOUTH, Mass., Aug. 15, 1807.

JOHN ADAMS, ESQ.

You begin your letter, sir, of August 8th, with complaints of "new demonstrations of Mrs. Warren's friendship." Indeed, I cannot see the smallest foundation of complaint from page 229, Vol. III., of the Revolutionary History, to signing the treaty with Great Britain, page 232, that could give cause for the smallest umbrage, except the inadvertency of placing the names of Benjamin Franklin and John Jay before that of John Adams. This might

have happened from the carelessness of the author, rather than from any particular reasons in her mind at the time. But this I very well remember, that when I observed that Mr. Adams was no favorite of the officers and administrators of affairs at the Gallican court, and that his manners were not adapted to render him acceptable in that refined and polished nation, or that he did not appear to have much partiality for or confidence in them, I meant to convey to my readers an honorable idea of his impartiality, republicanism, and independence: this the subsequent part of the paragraph proves.

Angry as you have appeared in your late correspondence, your integrity or industry, your moral or religious character, has never been impeached; and, when the impartiality of history required any observation on political delinquency, your change of opinion has been imputed to the dictates of conscience, which may sometimes be misguided where there are the best intentions.

But the greatest characters will sometimes stoop to trivial observations, when their irritability is wrought up by groundless suspicions.

You ask, page 4th of the letter under consideration: "Why am I singled out to be stigmatized as a clown?" You answer yourself in the next line, "Because Mrs. Warren has a particular spite against me, the cause of which shall be investigated in its proper place." I can patiently wait your time for investigation. If you are conscious of any cause for any particular *spite* against you, I should not wonder if you were wounded by the recollection. I have never felt any *particular spite* against you or any other person; but, if you are sensible that you have been guilty of any thing that might have wounded my sensibility, I forgive you. If you are satisfied with yourself for inserting in the next line that my observation was "false," it will be no proof of the correctness of your manners, or exculpate you from the imputation of *clownism*.

A gentleman, or a man of generous feelings, could never have charged a writer with "bitter inveteracy against him, a wilful departure from the most authentic records of history, and a determined resolution, right or wrong, to strip him of all his laurels," for the trivial circumstance of placing his name below his brother negotiators.

I pass over the several subsequent pages, and allow you the full enjoyment of your rank, of which you observe, in one of your letters, "neither Jay, Jefferson, Laurens, Franklin, or any other, could rob you, nor carry any other man to the head of the new Commission but John Adams." You observe, "Congress, to their honor, had then the integrity, candor, and fortitude to resist all influence, and refuse to disgrace, degrade, or discourage a man who had been the first object of their choice, and whose whole conduct they had approved." You go on, sir, with a long list of your dangers, difficulties, and escapes, of which we had before heard, of your meritorious services, both in Congress and in Europe: for these you have been justly respected by your country, by General Warren and by Mrs. Warren, who, you say, "knew that in those times I had much more of the confidence of Congress and of all the most intelligent and disinterested people in America who had any access to the secrets of affairs than Franklin." After this, follows a philippic against the aged Doctor, in which you censure the old gentleman for sometimes dropping to sleep amidst the multifarious discussions of a very respectable body of men, who had each his own opinions and his own system.

It was not the design of my historic work to write a panegyric on your life and character, though fully sensible of your virtues and your services. You may do that yourself in some future memoir, as I observe you contemplate writing your own life, and, however largely you may expatiate on your superior abilities or services, I will not charge you with "vanity," — I will not say it was "*pride*

of talents," — I will not even say "it is the vanity of human virtue," as you assert "some of my French friends call all moral principle." I wish you would point out to me who my French friends are? I never knew that I had a friend in that nation. You might also, if you had pleased, have explained any of their maxims which you quote. I am not enough acquainted with their meaning to have adopted any of them.

It is very true that I have said in page 250 that "interested and ambitious men endeavored to confound ideas and darken opinion, by asserting that republicanism was an indefinite term." The observation was true, and you very well know, sir, though you were absent several years, that there were interested and ambitious men in your country, before, and in, and after, the termination of war, and that many of them had sufficient pride of talents and confidence in their own opinions to broach such sentiments, before I ever suspected that Mr. Adams had said, or would say, that "republicanism might mean any thing or nothing." What your enemies had agreed to impute to you, I know not. At the time referred to above, I was certainly your friend; and, several years after, the remains of that friendship, and the delicacy of my own feelings, prevented me from charging you with such an assertion, though after your return from Europe it was often reported. Such an expression, and its subsequent confirmation from such a man as Mr. Adams, must naturally confound the ideas and darken the opinions of the people, whose feelings had been flattered, that it was no chimera that a pure republic might exist, — that it was not an undefinable idea, but that they had thought themselves far advanced in the establishment of such a system. Twenty years ago, I should not have hesitated to explain my own meaning when you asked it on any subject; but so much perversion as I have recently experienced from you, on every expression of mine, is a sufficient reason why I should not further attempt to define

the word Republicanism to Mr. Adams. Thus have I answered for myself, but am yet of the opinion that, notwithstanding your challenge, General Warren would *dare* to give you his ideas of a republican government, or a correct answer to any other question you should *condescend* to ask him.

The supplementary chapter, after the completion of the rise and progress of the Revolutionary War, you say is "like mustard after dinner." Perhaps mustard after dinner is not more disgusting to any palate than the vinegar and nitre which so plentifully seasons all your pages while writing in the "spirit of friendship." But the resentment expressed seems principally to arise from the neglect of the writer to dilate on the honors done you by your country. Your abilities and your exertions have frequently been acknowledged by myself, in a manner sufficient to gratify the most ambitious of men.

It is true you have been frequently elected to high office, notwithstanding which the people suspected your aristocratic and monarchic biasses, though they were not generally and fully convinced of this solemn truth until after your elevation to the Presidential chair.

Many of your friends were earlier convinced that a change of opinion had taken place in your mind, and silently regretted the marked and uniform preference to monarchic usages discoverable, without your own confessions. In a more elevated station, clearer convictions appeared that you had no aversion to introducing the modes and forms of arbitrary systems of government, which they never wished to see adopted in America; much less to see them riveted on posterity by the hereditary and ancestral claims of a new-born nobility. A diadem and a sceptre are powerful temptations to any one who thinks himself the "greatest man in America;" and could such a one resist the charms of a crown, if the way was properly prepared?

It was necessary this should be done by the general voice and consent of the people. A revolution of opinion was effected, of which you complain, and charge General Hamilton and Colonel Burr with the guilt of bringing this forward in conjunction with a swarm of "liars and libellers." You then ask Mrs. Warren if she "gloried in the exploits of these virtuous men and pure republicans," and then answer yourself, "Yes, I know you do." Prompt decision this!

You have named three gentlemen in your opprobrious charges of effecting a revolution which reduced you to private life, with whom Mrs. Warren never had the smallest acquaintance, though she very well knew the characters of them all. From Colonel Hamilton there was little to fear, until you placed him after Washington at the head of your standing army. Mr. Burr I never held in high consideration, and regretted that he had an opportunity of introducing so much confusion in Congress at the memorable era when your party so strenuously exerted themselves to place him in the Presidential chair. Was it not your adherents and partisans who would have plunged the country in a civil war, rather than Mr. Jefferson should have been elected the first magistrate of the United States?

They would have placed Mr. Burr in that dignified station; but, though he was really possessed of talents, he was never esteemed by those you denominate my "party" as sufficiently qualified to get up to one of the first officers in the state. Yet his countrymen never apprehended much danger from him, until he, too, thought himself qualified to usurp and wear a crown. Of Governor McKean's real character or designs I have been less informed.

Your anecdotes of the German clergyman, and the apprehensions of the German boors that the choice of the President of the United States lay between an atheist and a presbyter, are new to me, and I think them all as improb-

able as your next anecdote. . . . Such things as these, you assert, "are the principles, motives, and artifices that influence our elections," and ask "of what avail is virtue, talents, services, in such scenes of corruption." Is not this a severe libel on your country? Nor is it a singular one: you have in several parts of your late correspondence stigmatized the Americans as a very corrupt people.

You next observe that there are scattered in various parts of Mrs. Warren's History "insinuations about titles and a titled nobility, &c., which I supposed were intended as a sarcasm upon me." From what possible source could you infer that these observations were designed as a sarcasm upon you? Did you suppose there was no other man in America equally emulous of rank and title with yourself? Or were you in expectation that the first, the most exalted, and sweetest fruits of those royal institutions and privileged distinctions must be reaped by yourself and your favorites? Whenever those reflections have occurred in the History with which you are so much disgusted, they were the result of the author's cool reflections on the danger a young country was in, just relieved from a long war. In such a country, which appeared to be laying aside their simple habits, and from a connection with foreign nations and an association with foreign officers seemed to be hankering after the modes, distinctions, and ranks of the servants of European despots, was it not obvious that dangers would thicken? There were a number of military characters of high pretensions on one side, and on the other very many characters in civil life, dignified by their own virtues, and perhaps all possessed of an equal share of pride and an equal claim to those hereditary distinctions.

There certainly was at that time a great number of aspiring characters that might have created domestic difficulties, if not a domestic war, for the sake of acquiring

a nominal distinction and an assumed right to domination from the tinkling of a sonorous title. You say yourself that "even the good and great Washington was fond of a title; and, when His Highness was fixed upon as the most appropriate, he expressed no disapprobation." Nor will any one deny that there were many others at that time who were eager expectants of a harvest of honor, as well as wealth, both in military and civil departments, who were fanning the fond idea that their merits, too, had entitled them to this feather in their cap. Why, then, do you claim this *sneer*, if it was one, as properly due only to yourself?

You go on next in order with an assurance that, when you began the extraordinary series of letters in my hands, you intended "to have avoided any observations at present on any part of your History but such as had an immediate relation to myself." "At present," — this is a threat often repeated in your letters: what you have in your storehouse of *thunderbolts* I am yet at a loss to conjecture, and what you can mean by your dark allusions it is not possible for me to understand.

Though I am fatigued with your repetition of abuse, I am not intimidated, even should it extend to all the characters an impartial historian has thought proper to name. Where I was personally acquainted, I have never thought myself mistaken in any of the traits of character I have sketched. What has been related in conversation or from other means of information, I had the highest reason to suppose was correct.

If you had added six pages more relative to the American agent or agency, I should not think myself amenable to you for any thing said of Mr. Dana or his mission to the Grand Autocratrix of Russia. His character is known to his countrymen, and, whether his talents were more conspicuous on the bench of justice or as a diplomatist, they will judge; and whether his mission was defeated by the

intrigues of the Count de Vergennes, Dr. Franklin, or Sir James Harris, is not very material.

No immorality has been recorded of him in any page, nor any "envenomed satire" designed under the "grave title of a History," by Mrs. Warren. Mr. Dana is now retired: she wishes he may enjoy happiness through the present life, and a due preparation for the next.

As you seem to have almost run out the thread of self-eulogium, you may, perhaps, for want of other matter, continue to reproach and affront a writer whose sex alone ought to have protected her from the grossness of your invectives. For this purpose, you may have taken up the defence of your friend Dana, who does not from any thing I have said of him appear to require your interference.

Nothing further need be adduced in evidence of your disposition than the indelicacy of your insinuations in your comment on the note in page 304, Vol. II., of the History under consideration. There you say, "The note at the bottom of this page, Mrs. Warren, makes me blush for you." If your modesty was a little more consistent, you would have spared the recital of what you say you have met with in some "Scandalous Chronicle," confirmed by some great lady, relative to the weaknesses of the Grand Autocratrix. What was your design, your feelings, or your ideas, in bringing forward these obscene allusions, I cannot possibly conjecture. It might have been expected that the purity of your mind would have turned disgusted from them, and that your cheek would really have cindered when you made an effort to bring into contact any thing so vulgar and indecent with a line ever written by Mrs. Warren. Surely, it must be a cankered heart as well as a jaundiced eye that can discover any thing in that note inconsistent with purity or rectitude of heart.

I have six times read over a page in the same letter without comprehending its meaning, or understanding the ground or the drift of such an abusive clause as the fol-

lowing: "There is in this page, Madam, a manifest allusion, though colored and covered with too much art for an historian, to what I am as much ashamed as you to explain."

I challenge any man of common understanding, any woman of delicacy, or any genius of the deepest penetration, to find an expression or a word that wants explanation, or an *artful allusion* colored or covered through the whole page, unbecoming to my sex. And sure I am there has never been a thought in my heart that I was ashamed to express whether it related to person or opinion.

Nor can I more readily investigate the design of the story, or the character of the person, his errand to Russia, or your *delicate* observations thereon, which are to be found at the top of the 17th page of your letter of August 8th; but the result drawn is that you are ashamed of your country. On this dark tale I have nothing to say, as I know nothing about it; but as you seem to be in a blushing mood, while you "blush for Mrs. Warren," while you "blush for your country," I advise you to add one item more, and blush for yourself.

I now wish to be relieved from a correspondence so repugnant to my feelings, and that I shall not be obliged longer to make extracts from yours and observations thereon, which must of necessity be disadvantageous to the character of a gentleman I have always wished to respect, notwithstanding his political opinions may, in some part of his life, have deviated from some of the best and wisest of his friends.

My feeble health forbids too much exertion, and the abuse as well as the prolixity of your very extraordinary correspondence since the 11th of July is fatiguing indeed. I have long wished to lay aside all political attentions as well as other cares, that are not only oppressive, but viewed by me as a waste of time at my advanced period. I would now take leave, with my sincere wishes for your tranquil-

lity in retirement and felicity in future, even though you should tell me, as you have frequently done before, that there is not a single word of truth in the assertion of your once respected friend,

M. Warren.

No. 8.

JOHN ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN.

Quincy, August 15, 1807.

Dear Madam, — In order to give you all the authentic documents necessary to explain the remarks I have made upon your History, I have omitted to give you copies of one or two Commissions which I intended to have transcribed in their places. One of them is in these words: —

"The United States of America in Congress assembled, to all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting.

"Whereas these United States, from a sincere desire of putting an end to the hostilities between his Most Christian Majesty and these United States on the one part, and his Britannic Majesty on the other, and of terminating the same, by a peace founded on such solid and equitable principles as reasonably to promise a permanency of the blessings of tranquillity, did heretofore appoint the Honorable John Adams, late a Commissioner of the United States of America at the Court of Versailles, late Delegate in Congress from the State of Massachusetts, and Chief Justice of the said State, their Minister Plenipotentiary, with full powers, general and special, to act in that quality, to confer, treat, agree, and conclude with the ambassadors or plenipotentiaries of his Most Christian Majesty and of his Britannic Majesty, and those of any other Princes or States whom it might concern, relating to the

re-establishment of peace and friendship ; and whereas the flames of war have since that time been extended, and other nations and states are involved therein, now know ye that we, still continuing earnestly desirous, as far as depends upon us, to put a stop to the effusion of blood, and to convince the powers of Europe that we wish for nothing more ardently than to terminate the war by a safe and honorable peace, have thought proper to renew the powers formerly given to the said John Adams, and to join four other persons in commission with him, and having full confidence in the integrity, prudence, and ability of the Honorable Benjamin Franklin, our Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Versailles, and the Honorable John Jay, late President of Congress, and Chief Justice of the State of New York, and our Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Madrid, and the Honorable Henry Laurens, formerly President of Congress, and commissionated and sent as our agent to the United Provinces of the Low Countries, and the Honorable Thomas Jefferson, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and by these presents do nominate, constitute, and appoint, the said Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson, in addition to the said John Adams, giving and granting to them the said John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson, or the majority of them, or of such of them as may assemble, or in case of the death, absence, indisposition, or other impediment of the others, to any one of them, full power and authority, general and special, conjunctly and separately, and general and special command to repair to such place as may be fixed upon for opening negotiations for peace ; and there, for us and in our name, to confer, treat, agree, and conclude with the ambassadors, commissioners, and plenipotentiaries of the Princes and States whom it may concern, vested with equal powers relating to the establishment of peace ; and what-

soever shall be agreed and concluded for us, and in our name, to sign, and thereupon to make a treaty or treaties, and to transact every thing that may be necessary for completing, securing, and strengthening the great work of pacification, in as ample form and with the same effect as if we were personally present and acted therein, hereby promising in good faith that we will accept, ratify, fulfil, and execute whatever shall be agreed, concluded, and signed by our said ministers plenipotentiary, or a majority of them, or of such of them as may assemble, or in case of the death, absence, indisposition, or other impediment of the others, by any one of them, and that we will never act nor suffer any person to act contrary to the same, in whole or in any part. In witness whereof, we have caused these presents to be signed by our President, and sealed with his seal. Done at Philadelphia, the fifteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, and in the fifth year of our independence by the United States in Congress assembled.

"SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, and a seal.

"Attest: CHARLES THOMSON, *Sec'y.*"

Another Commission given the same day is as follows: —

"The United States of America, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

"Whereas his Most Christian Majesty, our great and beloved friend and ally, hath informed us by his minister plenipotentiary, whom he hath appointed to reside near us, that their Imperial Majesties, the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany, actuated by sentiments of humanity, and a desire to put a stop to the calamities of war, have offered their mediation to the belligerent powers in order to promote peace. Now know ye that we, desirous, as far as depends upon us, to put a stop to the effusion of blood, and convince all the powers of Europe that we

wish for nothing more ardently than to terminate the war by a safe and honorable peace, relying on the justice of our cause, and persuaded of the wisdom and equity of their Imperial Majesties, who have so generously interposed their good offices for promoting so salutary a measure, have constituted and appointed, and by these presents do constitute and appoint, our trusty and well-beloved, the Honorable John Adams, late a Delegate in Congress from the State of Massachusetts, the Honorable Benjamin Franklin, our Minister at the Court of France, the Honorable John Jay, late President of Congress, and now our Minister at the Court of Madrid, the Honorable Henry Laurens, formerly President of Congress, and commissioned and sent *as our agent* to the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and the Honorable Thomas Jefferson, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, our ministers plenipotentiary, giving and granting to them, or such of them as shall assemble, or in case of the death, absence, indisposition, or other impediment of the others, to any one of them, full power and authority in our name, and on our behalf, in concurrence with his Most Christian Majesty, to accept in due form the mediation of their Imperial Majesties, the Empress of Russia, and the Emperor of Germany.

In testimony whereof, we have caused these presents to be signed by our President, and sealed with his seal.

Done at Philadelphia this fifteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, and in the fifth year of our independence, by the United States in Congress assembled.

"SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, *President*, and a seal.

"Attest: CHARLES THOMSON, *Sec'y*."

This Commission, I think, is full proof that Mr. Laurens never had any other Commission or credential in Holland, except that of agent to negotiate a loan; because, when they were assembling his titles to do him honor in the

Commission for peace, they would not have suppressed a superior title, and inserted an inferior. This, however, was a circumstance of little consequence.

Soon after the peace of the 3d of September, 1783, I wrote to my friends in Congress, particularly to Mr. Gerry, that it was my wish to return to America; but, if Congress had any other services for me in Europe, they must send me my family, for I was determined at all events never to live another year in a state of separation from them. In 1784, Mr. Jefferson was a member of Congress; and now, after having twice refused, the world being at peace, and no British men-of-war to fear, Mr. Jefferson conceived a fancy to go to Europe. Accordingly, as Mr. Robert Morris informed me, he conceived a curious plan of negotiating treaties of commerce with all the world. Fifteen Commissions were accordingly issued to John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, to treat with France, England, and every other European nation, and all the Barbary powers. Mr. Jefferson came over to France with these Commissions, with Colonel Humphreys as a secretary of legation to all of them; and I was summoned from Holland to Paris to attend there. At the same time, my dearly beloved heroine had embarked with her daughter and two servants, and arrived in England. In twenty-four hours, I arranged all my papers, took leave of the States-General and Prince of Orange, and set out for London, where I met my two angels, and immediately went on to Paris, where we resided together above a year before I was ordered to the Court of St. James's.

I have stated these minute circumstances, that you might have a distinct view of my residences in France. In 1778 and 1779, I was there about fifteen months, during all which time I was treated with invariable respect and esteem by the court and city and nation, as far as I saw it; and I have now by me original papers and

letters, expressing the esteem of the King, his ministers, and even the little subordinate agents of ministers, some of whom I had thwarted in their little peculating projects. From February, 1780, to July 1780, I was in Paris again. There I was invariably treated with esteem and respect, even by the Comte de Vergennes, notwithstanding a keen dispute, in which he had officiously involved me, respecting certain public questions, which is on record, and I am not afraid to submit to posterity, nor even to the party-poisoned present age.

I was only three weeks in France in 1781, on the affair of the mediation of the two imperial courts, and all that time I was treated with universal respect. I had no more to do in France till I met Mr. Franklin and Mr. Jefferson in our fifteen new Commissions. I resided at Auteuil, near Paris, little more than a year under these, during all which time all animosity between Mr. De Vergennes and me subsided. I attended the levee of the King and his minister, dined weekly with the latter with the other ambassadors, and was treated with as much civility as any of them. In 1785, I was ordered to England. Where, then, is the ridicule and hatred which Mrs. Warren has taken so much delight to record, either from her own imagination or from the information of some worthless tattler, I know not who?

I have been earnestly solicited, Madam, by gentlemen in various States, to write memoirs of my own life, — and for this reason, because no other person ever can write them. I am too old to hope for time to go through such a work, which must necessarily be very voluminous, however insignificant it may be. But, suppose I should undertake it, I must relate many things concerning your family. Suppose I should imitate your example, and say Colonel Otis, of Barnstable, was implicated by a large portion of his fellow-citizens in this, that, and the other thing, which I have often heard of him. Suppose I should say Mr. James

Otis, of Boston, was implicated in all that I have heard and read of him. Suppose I should say General James Warren was implicated in all that I have heard of him during and since the Revolutionary War. Suppose I should say of Mrs. Warren herself all that I have heard of her, and say she was implicated in them by a large portion of her fellow-citizens, male and female. Suppose I should write all this without inserting any refutation of any part of it, or suggesting any doubt of its truth. I will go no farther at present. I turn with disgust from the odious idea. But I ask you how such a work would affect your feelings? and what judgment you would form of it, if it were published in print in your own time?

Since your History has been public, I have been informed, by evidence which you cannot contest, that when sometimes I have had friends at your table who have drunk my health in a toast, General Warren, yourself, and the whole family, instead of accepting the toast, have all drunk the King of Great Britain. This, no doubt, was intended as an heroic avowal of your candid belief of my *corruption* in Great Britain ! ! !

Mrs. Warren, it is my opinion, and that of all others of any long experience that I have conversed with, that your History has been written to the taste of the nineteenth century, and accommodated to gratify the passions, prejudices, and feelings of the party who are now predominant. The characters are not such as you esteemed them in the times when they acted, but such as will please the present fashion. The great Thuanus appealed to God for the truth of his Histories: can Mrs. Warren imitate his example? History ought to be written in no other manner.

In a former letter, I hinted that I might attempt to conjecture the motives which had changed Mrs. Warren from a friend to a bitter enemy to me. I have much to say on this head of a personal nature. I know of nothing to say of a public nature.

But at present I will mention only an intrigue of a party complexion. I have been informed that, when Mr. Jefferson was Secretary of State, there was a meeting of the Anti-Federalists at Boston, who agreed to write to Mr. Jefferson, and engage him to reserve himself for a candidate for the next elections of President, and promised to support him in opposition to me and all others. I was accordingly to be run down and turned out. Since that time, the Warren family have countenanced some of the worst, if not all, the calumnies which have been circulated against me.

Mrs. Warren! the Scottish *Fratrum dulce Par*, Alexander Callender and Alexander Hamilton, might have printed libels against me till this day, and I might have let them all pass in silent contempt. But Mrs. Warren is a very different author, a native American of a family I respect, and a lady with whom as well as her husband I lived in friendship for many years, though for the last three-and-thirty years I have seldom seen them. I shall not suffer her errors to go down to posterity uncorrected.

I call Callender, Alexander, because I believe him to have been the very rascal who basely deserted his bail in Scotland, and fled from a halter to this country, where, to disguise himself, he assumed the names of his great patron, Stephens Thompson Mason.

If Mrs. Warren is determined to be enrolled in the glorious list of libellers of John Adams, she is welcome: Ned Church, Loyd, Freneau, Peter Markoe, Andrew Brown, Ben Beach, Duane, Porcupine, John Fenno Junior, McDonald and his satellites, Callender, Hamilton, Wood, Pasquin, and the nameless crew of the "Chronicle."

But most of these have already come to a bad end, and the rest will follow. I am, Madam, as far as I possibly can be, still your friend,

JOHN ADAMS.

No. 9.

JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

QUINCY, August 17, 1807.

DEAR MADAM, — In the 306th page of your first volume, there are certain facts that I had overlooked. "Richard Henry Lee, Esq., was the first who dared explicitly to propose a Declaration of Independence. The proposal spread a sudden dismay; a silent astonishment seemed to pervade the Assembly," &c. These expressions, Madam, could only have arisen from misinformation; or, perhaps, I shall express myself more properly by calling it a want of more accurate and particular information of the proceedings in Congress. The truth is, the subject had long been perfectly familiar to the contemplations of all the members of Congress.

The three great subjects, a Declaration of Independence, a Confederation of the States, and Treaties with Foreign Powers, had been held up by me to the view of Congress for more than a year before this motion was made by Mr. Lee, in concert with me. I had myself for more than a year scarcely suffered a day to pass without publicly adverting to these as measures of indispensable necessity, and earnestly urging Congress by various arguments to prepare themselves and the States and people to adopt them. It appeared to me that those gentlemen who still flattered themselves with hopes of reconciliation were extremely deficient in their knowledge of the haughty temper of the British government and nation, and of their sovereign contempt of us.

It was very well known that some of the members would never consent. For a whole year I had earnestly contended for the first step which appeared to be necessary, which was a recommendation to all the States to take the whole power of the nation into their own hands,

by instituting governments by the original authority of the people. It was not till the fifteenth day of May, 1776, that we carried the resolution. This measure also was concerted between Mr. Lee and myself, and supported by us, and carried after a long debate. Mr. Lee and myself were appointed to draw up the Resolution: it was drawn by my own hand, agreed to by Mr. Lee, and reported by me as Chairman of the Committee. If you will please to read that Resolution in the Journal of Congress, you will find that it amounted to a complete declaration of independence. What was it else? It was a complete dissolution of all allegiance to the King. It was considered in this light by those who opposed it. Mr. Duane called it "a machine to make independence." But, in fact, it was an assumption of independence itself. There could be, therefore, no astonishment in anybody when the motion was made by Mr. Lee. If there was any affectation of astonishment, it was only by those who determined to oppose it to the last, the greatest part of whom left us upon that occasion, some recalled by their constituents, and others went over to the enemy.

"The measure was advocated by John Adams." So it was, and so it had been for a year before, and so many arguments used, and so many counter-arguments used against it, that neither Mr. Adams nor Mr. Dickinson produced a single new idea or suggested a new thought.

Mr. Adams "invoked the God of Eloquence." It is amazing to me whence this ridiculous story could have originated. I think I have read it in some of the former historians, from whom probably you received it. But you may depend upon it, Madam, it is totally false. The Supreme Being, it is true, is the God of eloquence, and of every other good. But I never should have invoked Him under that title. I remember very well what I did say. But I will previously state a fact as it lies in my memory,

which may be somewhat explanatory of it. In the previous multiplied debates which we had upon the subject of independence, the delegates from New Jersey had voted against us. Their constituents were informed of it, and recalled them, and sent us a new set on purpose to vote for independence. Among these were Chief Justice Stockton and Dr. Witherspoon. In a morning when Congress met, we expected the question would be put and carried without any further debate, because we knew we had a majority, and thought that argument had been exhausted on both sides, as indeed it was, for nothing new was ever afterwards advanced on either side. But the Jersey delegates, appearing for the first time, desired that the question might be discussed. We observed to them that the question was so public, and had been so long discussed in pamphlets, newspapers, and at every fireside, that they could not be uninformed, and must have made up their minds. They said it was true they had not been inattentive to what had been passing abroad, but they had not heard the arguments in Congress, and did not incline to give their opinions until they should hear the sentiments of members there. Judge Stockton was most particularly importunate, till the members began to say, "Let the gentlemen be gratified;" and the eyes of the assembly were turned upon me, and several of them said, "Come, Mr. Adams, you have had the subject longer at heart than any of us, and you must recapitulate the arguments." I was somewhat confused at this personal application to me, and would have been very glad to be excused; but, as no other person arose, after some time I said, "This is the first time of my life when I seriously wished for the genius and eloquence of the celebrated orators of Athens and Rome, called in this unexpected and unprepared manner to exhibit all the arguments in favor of a measure the most important in my judgment that ever had been discussed in civil or political society. I had no art or oratory to

exhibit, and could produce nothing but simple reason and plain common sense. I felt myself oppressed by the weight of the subject, and I believed if Demosthenes or Cicero had ever been called to deliberate on so great a question, neither would have relied on his own talents without a supplication to Minerva, and a sacrifice to Mercury or the God of Eloquence."

All this, to be sure, was but a flourish, and not as I conceive a very bright exordium, but I felt awkwardly; but nothing that I said had the most remote resemblance to "an invocation of the God of Eloquence." I did not think it necessary in that assembly to make an ostentation of piety by a solemn prayer; but I believe I can safely say I had supplicated the Great Governor of the Universe in relation to the independence of my country as often and as devoutly as Mr. Dickinson had done.

Whether this crude idea was vented by any member of Congress from ill-will to me, or merely from misunderstanding or misrecollection, I know not. I wish some one had remembered the speech, for it is almost the only one I ever made that I wish was literally preserved.

The delegates from New Jersey declared themselves perfectly satisfied; and the question prevailed, notwithstanding Mr. Dickinson's superior "brilliancy of epithet."

And now, Madam, I will relate an anecdote. Some of these expressions of mine have got into a work of the Abbé Raynal; and I will tell you in what manner. The Abbé was very inquisitive with me after my speeches in Congress; said he had read some speeches in some of the publications in Europe, which were attributed to me, and he wished I would furnish him with any that I had published or delivered. I said, if he had seen any such speeches, they were forgeries; for I never had published nor written a speech in my life, made in any public assembly. Nor did I wish that any one I had ever deliv-

ered should be preserved in form, excepting one, and that was upon the question of independence. That had appeared to me the greatest question that ever was agitated, that the consequences of it would be felt over the whole globe; and, therefore, when I was called to discuss it, I owned I had wished for the "genius and eloquence of the celebrated orators of Athens and Rome." But that I had made no minutes of what I said, and no part of it had been published. I thought no more of the conversation till the Abbé's pamphlet came out, and there I read, "*que n'ai-je reçu le génie et l'éloquence des célèbres orateurs d'Athènes et de Rome*," &c.; and these are all the true words of my speech that ever appeared in print. I have mentioned this because even this passage of Raynal has been belied in America to my disadvantage.

I am, Madam, as usual,

JOHN ADAMS.

MRS. MERCY WARREN.

No. 10.

JOHN ADAMS TO MERCY WARREN.

QUINCY, August 19, 1807.

"Pride of talents and much ambition were, undoubtedly, combined in the character of the President who immediately succeeded General Washington;" and these are represented as the most prominent features of his character. Vol. III. p. 393.

Permit me, Madam, to ask the favor of you to point out the act or word which appeared to you to evince this pride of talents. I know not that I ever felt any such pride. A man whose disposition is so open as mine, and who has indulged himself in so much facetiousness and so much irony among his friends as you know I always have done, may have often mistaken for his friends enemies of the blackest rancor of heart, who may have misrepresented him

in a thousand instances. But pride of talents has been very far from my heart. I never in my life believed that I had any talents beyond mediocrity. I have always been sensible, to my mortification, that all I have done has been accomplished by the severest and most incessant labor. I have no reason to be proud of any thing. If I could be proud of any thing, it would be industry; but even in this I am much more inclined to be ashamed that I have done no more than to be proud of what I have done. I mean not by this any affectation of modesty, for I will open my whole soul to you on this subject. I have great satisfaction in believing that I have done more labor, run through more and greater dangers, and made greater sacrifices than any man among my contemporaries, living or dead, in the service of my country; and I should not hesitate to hazard all reputation, if I did not convince the public of it too, if I should ever undertake it.

This I deliver to you as my cool, sober, deliberate opinion, and am not afraid it should go down to posterity as such. Will you please to name the man who has done, suffered, and sacrificed so much? Name him, and I will make a sketch of a comparison, and either convince you or expose myself, perhaps both. You may call this pride or vanity or self-sufficiency or vain-glory, or what you please. But it is the truth.

One event in my administration I might expect would be represented by Hamilton and his faction as the effect of pride of talents; but I ought not to have expected it from Mrs. Warren or any of her party. I mean *the peace with France*. In this measure, I was opposed by all the five of my own cabinet council, as they call it; and by all the leading members as they were called of the Senate, and by all the like members of the House of Representatives, — I mean of the Federal party. I was reduced in my own judgment to the alternative of involving my country in a foreign war abroad and a civil war at home on one

side, or taking upon myself, against the advice and wishes of all about me, the renewal of negotiations with France, after France had humbled herself in her own eyes, and in the sight of all Europe and America. This I did, believing at the time that I was signing my own death-warrant as a public man; for I knew that the Anti-Federalists had been wrought up by twelve years of incessant calumny to such a rage of prejudice and antipathy to me that this measure would not procure me a single vote from that party, and I had demonstration enough that the same measure would exasperate so many of the Federalists that the next election would undoubtedly be turned against me. I was very far from being proud of this situation. But I thought my duty to my country ought to prevail over every personal and party consideration, and that I ought to follow my own judgment formed upon mature and very serious deliberation, let it differ from whom it would.

I did follow it, and gave you that peace which has been the source of all the triumphs of your party. I think you ought to give me credit for it, instead of charging me with pride. But it shall be just as you please, Mrs. Warren, but I have never sacrificed a principle, nor even concealed an opinion, from a motive of ambition or an affectation of popularity. We come now to the "much ambition." I am not about to unman myself. If I should represent myself more than man, no person would believe me; and, if I pretended to be less, I hope I should find no credit. Ambition is wrought into the soul of every human being from Alexander and Napoleon down to the infant in his mother's arms. I must be a monster, then, in my own estimation, if I had been destitute of it in any part of my life. Ambition, too, is the most lively in the most intelligent and the most generous minds. I am far, therefore, from being offended at being represented as ambitious. There can be no rational question about the existence of ambition in

any human breast: it is scarcely extinct in idiots and lunatics.

The only questions should be, to what objects is it directed, and by what laws is it governed. If the object be the good of our friends, neighbors, country, and mankind, this is surely not censurable. If it is regulated by truth, honor, justice, and benevolence, it is certainly laudable. Now, Madam, I beseech you to tell me when, where, and in what transaction of my administration, or indeed of my whole life, my ambition prompted me to any other object, or was not regulated by those moral sentiments and rules.

What projects inconsistent with the strictest purity did my ambition ever suggest, instigate, or pursue? Whilst I hope for your candid answer to these questions, I will say if any man, living or dead, could produce incontestable proofs of a sense of duty prevailing over the most seducing temptations of ambition, I am bold to say I have it in my power to produce a great many of them. On the contrary, I challenge all my enemies to produce an instance in which my ambition aimed at improper objects, or pursued good ones by unjustifiable means. I have never adopted the maxim that the end would sanctify or justify the means.

> "Careat successibus opto,
> Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat."

It is with the utmost astonishment that I read from Mrs. Warren's pen such abominable sentiments as those in the next page, that I "drew a doleful picture of the confusion and dissolution of all republics." I drew no pictures but those of faithful history. Not a fact has ever been contested, nor ever can be. My pictures of the confusions and dissolutions were of republics ill constituted, improperly mixed, or not mixed at all; and this with the single view of convincing my countrymen of the necessity and duty

of constituting their republics with such balances as would protect them from tyranny in every form, and this in opposition to Shays's Rebellion, to the disorganizing votes of county committees and conventions, and especially to the weak, vain projects of my particular friends, Rochefoucauld and Condorcet, who I saw were about setting the universe in a blazing bon-fire, by their presumptuous ignorance and shallow jurisprudence, a sovereignty in a single representative assembly in France. "My Defence of the Constitutions had a powerful tendency to shake the republican system through the United States." This is so far from being true, that those books contributed more than all the military exertions to quell the insurrections in Massachusetts, to convince the people who had been guilty of them of their error, and to establish the Constitution of Massachusetts, and introduce it as a model into the National Constitution.

You pay a miserable compliment to the information and judgment of the people, Mrs. Warren, and a worse compliment to the republican system, when you suppose that the truth can deceive the former, or shake the latter.

Republics well constituted have been the best governments in the world, but republics ill-constituted have been the worst. "Few had the hardiness to counteract a republican form of government until several years after the United States had become an independent nation." Who were these few? I know of none who ever counteracted a republican government. If there has been any party or any individual who has counteracted such a government, I know nothing of it.

Such abominable misrepresentations, such political chimeras, may have answered the purposes of a party, but, as far as I know, they are a merciless injustice.

If even a Hamilton, or any of his admirers, ever counteracted such a government, I never knew it; and certainly, at this time of day, if I knew it, I would not

conceal it. Nay, farther, there has been no time, not even when he was most obsequious to me, when I would not have revealed it, if I had known it. The Quakers are the only people who avow themselves monarchists, and the Quakers are Jeffersonians.

The grave reflections in page 394 and 395 would make a figure in the "Aurora" or the "Chronicle," and would be very proper for one of the sitters, or runners, or riders, at our elections, to read in the bar-room of one of our inns to a cluster of tavern-haunters, but are altogether unworthy of the pen of Mrs. Warren, utterly repugnant to the character of History.

One word more of my "much ambition." If by "ambition" you mean a love of power or a desire of public offices, I answer, I never solicited a vote in my life for any public office. I never swerved from any principle, I never professed any opinion, I never concealed even any speculative opinion, to obtain a vote. I never sacrificed a friend or betrayed a trust. I never hired scribblers to defame my rivals. I never wrote a line of slander against my bitterest enemy, nor encouraged it in any other. Look over the list of your present party friends, and see if you can find one who can say as much. From 1768, when I removed my family to Boston, I never attended a popular assembly till I was chosen their representative, in the place of Mr. Bowdoin and your brother, in 1770, and then only for a moment, to accept the choice. I never attended another popular assembly till 1774, when in a Boston town-meeting, of which I was made moderator, I received the news of the appointment of members of Congress, and that I was one. The unbiassed judgment and spontaneous feelings of the people have conferred upon me all the offices and trusts I ever held. When I was finally turned out of the highest office in the nation by the arts of a Burr and a Hamilton, and by innumerable other arts which you probably know better than I do, have I com-

plained? Have I been dejected? Have I been enraged? Ask those who know me. Ambition disappointed naturally turns into revenge. It produces rage, violence, envy, malice, hatred, and perpetual projects to recover the lost consideration. Have you heard of any such effects upon me? If you have, you have heard most impudent lies. On the contrary, although I have met with private misfortunes and family afflictions since my exile to my "*terres*," as severe as any you have ever experienced, I can sincerely declare that the last seven years have been the happiest of my life. Have I uttered one complaint? Have I taken one step to regain the popular favor? Have I done one act of revenge upon any of my enemies? Have I ever done any thing in opposition to Mr. Jefferson's government? I could have made a great deal of noise, Mrs. Warren. If these are characteristics of any illaudable ambition, I am ignorant of the nature of the passion as well as of the meaning of the word, and most humbly entreat your ladyship to explain them both to me. I will not retort, Mrs. Warren, at present, upon you or your connections, though you must be sensible that in the opinion of the world, or at least in the prejudices of the people, I might find an ample field for retaliation.

In a former letter, I hinted at some personal motives that might have contributed to change Mrs. Warren from a zealous friend into an enemy to me. I can conjecture but one source of this memorable turn of the tide. It is this. At the commencement of the new government, Mrs. Warren, by some of her letters to me, seemed to suppose it was in my power to obtain some promotion for some of her family. She might think that I did not exert myself enough for this purpose. To this accusation, if it is one, I answer: By the Constitution, the Vice-President was confined to the legislature, at the head of the Senate, and had not the smallest connection with the executive author-

ity. I soon found that all the Secretaries of State were jealous enough of my interference in any of their departments. As I had no authority, I thought I ought not to aim at any influence in nominations to offices. When Washington thought fit to consult me concerning the qualifications or merits of any of the candidates, I gave him all the information I possessed, with candor and integrity; but I scarcely recollect an instance of my recommending a person for nomination, without the express application of the President to me. Had I been President and at liberty to act my own judgment, I should have nominated General Warren to the office of Collector for the port of Plymouth; for at that time all the obloquy I had heard, and all the extreme unpopularity into which he had fallen, had not shaken my opinion of his integrity.

His merits and capacity in the Revolution were known to no man better than to me. But the conduct of General Warren at the time of Shays's Rebellion, whether truly or falsely represented, and his supposed decided and inveterate hostility to the Federal Constitution, had produced so determined a spirit against him, that if Washington himself had nominated him to any office he would surely have been negatived by the Senate. Nor was there one moment during my administration when he would not have been negatived by two-thirds of the Senate. For in my time the Federalists had a great majority in Senate, which they never had in Washington's day. This their strength made them presumptuous, and proved their ruin, but it was an immovable bar to any nomination of Warren in my short period. I am not chargeable, then, with any neglect of the duties of friendship or of any oblivion of the merits of General Warren while I was in public. But I am apprehensive that the family thought I was opposed to them, or forgot them, and consequently turned their devotions to a planet that they thought a rising sun,

became very willing to believe as many of the popular lies against me as they possibly could, to call me a monarchist, and encourage the insinuations that I had been corrupted in England, &c., and to cry up Jefferson as the great republican, — Jefferson, who is not half so much of a republican as I am, and whose administration has not been so conformable to republican principles or manners as mine was. This is imputing your change, Madam, to private views and selfish and family motives, to be sure; but I cannot help it. I can think of no others. If you can explain it upon better principles, I shall be very happy.

The only two offices General Warren ever held under the old Congress, that of paymaster of the army and that of member of the navy board, I procured for him; and General Warren has repeatedly acknowledged it to me, I believe, in your hearing. General Warren must remember that Mr. Cushing and Mr. Hancock were not very cordial friends of his, and, if he is ignorant, I know that Mr. Samuel Adams was not very zealous till I compelled him to be so. The motives of these gentlemen may be conjectured. I wish I had not been compelled to expose the imperfections of so many patriots. But, if more justice is not done me than is done in your History, I shall be obliged, in self-defence, to lay open many more.

Mrs. Warren, in my numerous journeys from France to Holland, and from Holland to France, I took a great delight in contemplating at Antwerp the great and beautiful productions of art which are collected in that city, by Rubens, Rembrandt, Vandyke, and many other great painters of the Flemish School. Among these was one which I never failed to view with wonder, because it represented human nature so truly, and so exactly according to the experience of my whole life, though in the most perfect and sacred of human characters. The painting represented Jesus in the midst of his twelve apostles, lean-

ing familiarly on the shoulder of the beloved disciple, and distinguishing him from all the eleven by some peculiar marks of attention and kindness. The eyes of all are turned upon this tender scene, and jealousy is painted on every countenance, more marked, however, in some than in others: but Peter is almost transported with rage; his eyes look as if they would start out of their sockets; his lips seem to quiver, and his teeth grin to such a degree that you are apt to fancy you hear them grit against each other.

I might mention many of our best men in whom I have observed these passions, but at present I shall name but few. Mr. Hancock was a saint, Mr. Cushing was a saint, and Mr. Samuel Adams was a saint. I will not say which of them resembled Peter the most. But I will say that the last of them resembled Saint Peter more than the beloved John. These gentlemen all considered General Warren as a person who might be brought forward as a candidate for Governor or Lieutenant-governor. I have no more to say at present.

I may have passed over some passages in your History, Madam, which relate to me. But I believe I have observed them all. This letter, therefore, will be the last upon this subject. I have received none of your favors since I began to write. Had I read your History without knowing the author, I should have written under that part of it which relates to me a stanza from Pope's Alley, in imitation of Spenser, and taken no more notice of it: —

> "Hard by a sty, beneath a roof of thatch,
> Dwelt Obloquy, who, in her early days,
> Baskets of fish at Billingsgate did watch, —
> Cod, whiting, oyster, mackrel, sprat, or plaice.
> There learned she speech from tongues that never cease:
> Slander, beside her, like a magpie chatters
> With Envy, (spitting cat,) dread foe to peace.
> Like a curs'd cur, Malice before her clatters,
> And, vexing ev'ry wight, tears clothes and all to tatters."

But Mrs. Warren's egregious errors must be corrected, though I cannot, and will not, apply these lines to her.

JOHN ADAMS.

MRS. MERCY WARREN.

No. 6.

MRS. MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS.

PLYMOUTH, Mass., August 27, 1807.

JOHN ADAMS, ESQUIRE.

At a time of life when retirement is sought for, and the release from all political attentions desired, ten long letters of accusation and reproach, of interrogation and retrospection, within the term of a few weeks, may be designed, not only to distress, but to create passions in my bosom which were never felt nor indulged.

When I finished mine of August 15th, I thought I might calculate on a respite from your exertions to insult and affront a woman of my age and standing in society. But her character may yet resist the malevolence of your pen, however indecently it has or may have been wielded, in hopes that the celebrity of your own fame might sanction an effort, as you threaten, "to enroll her name with a list of liars and libellers."

It is impossible to pass over in silence your tenth letter, though you say it is your last. This letter, combined with many passages in the preceding one, is the top stone of insolent composition. It is wound up with the most finished abuse and affrontive language that your genius or reading could furnish. To this you have subjoined a curious selection of poetry from Pope's Alley. But it was a miserable subterfuge, to cover your own malignancy, to crowd in an interlineation with different ink, and at a different time, that "*you cannot nor will not apply these lines to Mrs. Warren.*" You might perhaps never have been prompted to such allusions, had not your previous efforts to wound

the feelings of your former friend have hardened your own so far as to lead you to cry out with Macbeth, —

> "I am in blood
> Stept in so far, that, should I wade no more,
> Returning were as tedious as go o'er."

After all, what has been the crime of the author of a History in which you have been named with so much respect? The historian never charged you with a single immorality, though her impartiality has led her, however highly she may have estimated your talents and your meritorious services to your country, conscientiously to assert that you, like all other human beings, was subject to change.

This truth I have witnessed from my first acquaintance with you: your nerves have not always been wound up by the same key. I have seen you at some times ready to despair of the Commonwealth, at others have heard you assert jocosely that *liberty-pole government was the best government in the world.* At one time, I have heard you talk enthusiastically on the "divine science of politics" and the systems productive of the greatest good to mankind; at another, I have heard you assert that *self-love was the sole principle of human action.*

You may probably remember that this kind of conversation once at the Plymouth fireside, with some allusions to the doctrine of fatalism, produced a little poem addressed to yourself, which you may peruse again in page 195 of Mrs. Warren's volume of miscellaneous poems. You have done many important services for your country since those days, but you have doubtless changed your opinions of men and things very many times: those changes, when marked or mentioned by Mrs. Warren, have always been attributed to the best motives, with a candid apology for the imperfection of human intellect, and the mistakes of an old friend.

How unlike are your charges! Mrs. Warren is accused of a total defalcation from all principle, actuated by a malignant heart, uttering falsehoods without number, and *joining an infamous band of worthless defamers in slandering Mr. Adams, in order to bring forward Mr. Jefferson to the Presidential Chair;* and in writing for, and lost in the idolatrous worship of, such as you have considered the atheistical and licentious partisans of republicanism.

These, sir, are some of the charges against Mrs. Warren, through a correspondence in which not only the principles and manners of a gentleman, but even the language of one, have been abandoned.

To satiate your thirst for revenge for imaginary crimes, for sins of omission and commission, for omitting to draw an *immaculate* character, and for suggesting that Mr. Adams could have been once mistaken, Mrs. Warren's family and her connections are implicated as accessory in the *guilt* of the historian. And what is the imputed guilt? The temerity of telling the truth: that in a certain portion of his time Mr. Adams was in favor of a monarchic government, and that this was generally believed through the United States, who rejected his opinions.

Then, insinuations are interwoven through all your letters against the whole Warren family as having opposed or criminated you. These charges are contemptible enough; but more contemptible still is your effort to magnify the *ingratitude* of the family, by saying that there once was a time, when, had you been the Chief Magistrate, you *would have nominated General Warren a collector for the little port of Plymouth.*

Look back, sir, on what you was, look back also on Mr. Warren, say forty years ago, and recollect what would then have been your reflections, had you have been told that you would some day have been raised to such a pinnacle of honor as to have it in your power to insult Mr. Warren by the offer of such a petty appointment. A

short retrospection may also bring to your mind that you are perhaps not so much indebted to any other man in the United States for putting you in the road to the various dignified stations to which you have since been lifted; and, when his influence had brought you forward as a member of the first Continental Congress, you may also remember that you took no step of importance without first consulting him. This may be evinced by the many letters now in my hands, as well as by your own copies.

I will remind you of this by copying a few extracts which confirm this assertion. In a letter to Mr. Warren, dated Ipswich, June 25, 1774, you speak of the Congress that was to be convened at Philadelphia, thus: "I view the assembly that is to be there as I do the Court of Areopagus, the Council of the Amphictyons, a Conclave, a Sanhedrim, a Divan, I know not what. I suppose you sent me there to school. I thank you for thinking me an apt scholar, or capable of learning. For my part, I am at a loss, totally at a loss, what to do when I get there. I must entreat the favor of your sentiments, and Mrs. Warren's, what is proper, practicable, expedient, wise, just, good, necessary, to be done at Philadelphia. Pray, let me have them in a letter before I go."

I have just counted twenty-five letters received from you in those days of your pupilage, dated Philadelphia, October, 1775, and directed to Mr. Warren, besides a number to myself. November 5th, 1775, you go on: "I am under great obligations to you for your attention to me. I am obliged to trouble you with inquiries concerning subjects which you understand very well, and I know nothing of." In a previous letter, you have observed thus: "Every line I receive from you gives me great pleasure, and is of vast use to me in the public cause. Your letters were very useful to me last fall. Your character became then known, and much esteemed. The few letters I have received from you this time have increased

the desire of more ; and some other gentlemen who happened to know you, particularly Governors Hopkins and Ward, of Rhode Island, have confirmed very good opinions which had been formed. I must entreat you to omit no opportunity of writing, and to be as particular as possible." — "Every letter of yours is worth its weight in gold."

And is it possible that you could ever suppose that this friend to whom you once looked up with so much veneration could, in a subsequent period, ever think himself obliged, promoted, or dignified, by *your* appointing him a collector for the little port of Plymouth ?

You have several times hinted at personalities, and expressed your suspicion that private resentment had been harbored by the "Warren family" for something that seems to lie upon your conscience.

I know not what you can mean, unless you refer to a circumstance that I never thought of much consequence. Thus, you have upbraided me in your last with asking your influence, in the newly organized government of the United States, for *promotion* to my family. I deny it, sir. I once had a son, — a son whose amiability and worth you have frequently acknowledged under your own hand. This son had resided long in Europe, was well acquainted with the history of foreign nations, with foreign languages, and with commercial affairs : he would have liked a longer residence abroad, had he been appointed consul at Lisbon, as he had reason to expect from the influence of several of the first members of Congress.

It is true I once mentioned this circumstance to you, presuming you would readily facilitate this little favor, which was not beyond the influence of the Vice-President of the United States, the long professed friend of a gentleman whose services and merits you very well knew deserved much higher marks of consideration, both from his country and its government, than such an appointment

for a son. A rough, ungentlemanly reply to that letter was a sufficient bar to any subsequent application for *your patronage*. But a circumstance of so little importance to them has never instigated the "Warren family" to form a junction with Burr, Hamilton, or any others in your list of enemies, as you have insinuated, "to turn you out of the highest office in the nation."

The allegations scattered through your letters, that Mrs. Warren was acquainted with the arts and intrigues of your enemies, or that she knew any thing of a long list of persons, whom you have denounced as infamous, and observed that "most of them have already come to a bad end, and the rest will follow," are too much despised by her to attempt a refutation of your errors.

Are not these things a strong proof that a man may be "set in opposition to himself," that the same man who has at one time requested her husband thus, — "Remember me, sir, in the most respectful manner to your good lady, whose manners, virtues, genius, and spirit will render her immortal, notwithstanding the general depravity," — at a subsequent period the same lady is insulted and vilified in the grossest manner in a series of letters from Mr. Adams to Mrs. Warren? Thus much for personalities. I know of nothing else on which you could found your numerous insinuations that personal resentment towards you had ever actuated my pen. If you scrutinize your own heart, you may perhaps be the best judge whether your own conduct has not merited every censure you complain of.

You say in one of your letters that you have been "urged to write the memoirs of your own life, because nobody else could do it." If you should commence your own biography, a work which you say "must necessarily be very voluminous," — which, undoubtedly, it must be, if you mean to include therein every trivial suggestion that may have come to your ear relative to friends or foes, —

there may be allegations brought forward which were never before heard or thought of by them. I am led to expect this, not only from your threats, but from the little captious, unmeaning insinuations in the string of suppositions which here follow: "Suppose I should say your father Colonel Otis, of Barnstable, was implicated," &c. For what, sir? Colonel Otis's character was so pure that malice itself could not injure it. "Suppose I should say Mr. James Otis, of Boston, was implicated," &c. You know and the world knows his abilities and his merits too well to dare to say any thing to injure his memory. "Suppose I should say General James Warren was implicated in all that I have heard of him during and since the Revolutionary War?" Supposing you should, sir, — if you say nothing but truth, his integrity, his patriotism, and other virtues cannot be depreciated by the pen of envy or slander. "Suppose I should say of Mrs. Warren that she has been implicated by a portion of her fellow-citizens, male and female?" She is not afraid to stand before the tribunal of any of her fellow-citizens, either "male or female," who may be disposed to examine her conduct through a long page of life, in which she has endeavored to discharge her domestic as well as all other duties with fidelity and kindness.

For what, then, is she implicated? You bring no specific charge against her, but in the next page you say you will mention "an intrigue of a party complexion," and that you "have been informed that when Mr. Jefferson was Secretary of State there was a meeting of the Anti-Federalists at Boston, who agreed to write to Mr. Jefferson and engage him to reserve himself as a candidate for the next election of President, and promised to support him in opposition [to me and] to all others. I was accordingly to be run down and turned out." Is Mrs. Warren to be implicated for this intrigue? Is it possible that Mr. Adams could for a moment indulge the absurd opinion that Mrs. Warren

knew any thing of an intrigue of which she never heard until informed by him? You have observed that "since that time the Warren family have countenanced some of the worst, if not all the calumnies which have been circulated against me." This is a bold and unfounded assertion. The *Warren family* at the period to which you allude were too deeply immersed in domestic affliction of the most poignant nature to pay much attention to the party contests of candidates for office. Mrs. Warren's bosom was then lacerated by wounds which no time can heal, nor can oblivion ever be drawn over the cruelties which occasioned so much parental grief. Nor have the *Warren family* ever injured you or yours, but their mother has been very attentive and affectionate to your children: This they know, and to this my beloved friend Mrs. Adams will attest.

But however vindictive you may feel towards Mrs. Warren, or however ardently you may wish to implicate her character, you can make no exertions more injurious than those contained in your late letters. To them you may recur; there you will find the darkest passions of the soul are in some measure gratified; and if you wish, as you seem to hint, to enroll her name on the list of a group of characters whom you most detest, it is at your option. It is true she has some general knowledge of several of the most prominent characters you have named as your enemies, but she knows not either the modes of life or the manner of death of but few of the characters that complete your long list of culprits; nor does she tremble at the most terrible denunciations of your pen.

I shall, therefore, now close after a question or two, and some subsequent observations which naturally arise. You have observed in your letter of August 15th, thus: "It is my opinion, and that of all others of any long experience that I have conversed with, that your History has been written to the taste of the nineteenth century, and accom-

modated to gratify the passions, prejudices, and feelings of the party who are now predominant. The characters are not such as you once esteemed them in the times when they acted, but such as will please the present fashion."

Pray, sir, who are the wise and experienced characters whose sagacity has discovered that Mrs. Warren's History was written to the taste of the nineteenth century, and was accommodated to gratify the passions, prejudices, and feelings of the party predominant? Do they not belong to that description of persons you once so emphatically denominated "summer flies, blood-suckers," &c.? If you have forgotten the conversation to which I allude, I will remind you when it took place, and with whom. It was with a particular and very dear friend of mine, a few weeks before it was ascertained that you had been elected Vice-President of the United States. Your mind was then in a perturbed state, or you would not have made use of very many expressions which were penned down, and transmitted to me within a few days after the conversation. Shall I refresh your memory with a small part of this *curious* conversation? You spoke of Mr. King with a great deal of passion, and pronounced a philippic against him, in which were these expressions: "If such men as King had been in government ten years ago, we should now be trampled, — stamping hard with your foot, — under the feet of the British lion." This might be true enough. You went on, in answer to an observation of the gentleman, that "Mr. King was popular in some parts of the State:" "Don't tell me of his popularity, sir! It originated in deception. He obtained it by opposing the continental impost; and now he comes forward the most strenuous supporter of it. . . . Such summer flies, such blood-suckers, it would take fifty such men as King to make a Josiah Quincy, and five hundred of him to make a James Otis. I never saw any thing original from him yet. What is it has given him this repu-

tation? and who is it that is puffing him in all the papers? Who are your Sedgwicks and your Kings?" . . .

"Mr. King and Mr. Sedgwick are disappointed in the election for Senators, are they not, Mr. ——?"

"Mr. Sedgwick to be Speaker of the House of Representatives and member of Congress for this State is quite too much for him. What, in God's name, gave him a right to become a Senator for this State?"

It is not difficult to prove that Mr. Adams himself has often changed his opinion of men and measures. An instance or two is sufficient to evince this truth. About the time his own son was appointed to reside as a public minister in the Batavian Provinces, Mr. Adams asserted that this same Mr. King, this "summer fly," this "bloodsucker," should be promoted to the rank of Ambassador from the United States of America to the Court of Great Britain. Thus, it is clear that he has not always estimated characters just as they were in the times when they acted, but such as would please the present fashion.

I will only add one instance more to the same point. Compare a letter from Mr. Adams to Mr. Warren, dated Paris, April 13, 1783, with an extract of a letter of his to the same gentleman, dated July, 1775, in the last of which Mr. Adams says: "Franklin's character you know, — his masterly acquaintance with the French language; his extensive correspondence in France; his great experience in life; his wisdom, prudence, caution; his engaging address, united to his unshaken firmness in the present American system of politics and war,— point him out as the fittest character for this momentous undertaking.[1] Nothing more need be said: there is no abler or better American that I know of." Again: "I assure you, the old gentleman is as firm as a mountain, and very serviceable to us. His

[1] To go into Canada.

head is clear, and his heart strong. I wish the multiplicity of business at his age may not deprive his country of his services too soon."

When you compare the two letters above alluded to, in the first of which, dated April 13, 1783, no language is too severe in which to draw the character of Dr. Franklin, you may perhaps justify a change of opinion relative to the characters of men, when time has developed alterations which sanction a different portrait of them, without a conformity to present fashions or modes of thinking.

You have informed me that some of your friends have observed to you that my History was calculated for the taste of the nineteenth century. Whatever deference might have been due to the judgment of some of them before their hearts were perverted by party rancor, you may be assured I have now very little consideration for their opinions. I have had reason to suppose for several months that there has been a combination to sink into oblivion or to destroy the validity of a late History of the Revolution; but until recently I did not suspect that Mr. Adams had any hand in the authorcide.

The History has gone forth to the world, with my settled and fixed determination to disregard its censure or applause. Mr. Adams's opinions might have defeated this determination, had they not have been so marked with passion, absurdity, and inconsistency as to appear more like the ravings of a maniac than the cool *critique* of genius and science. Criticism, in order to be useful, should always be decent, as has been said by some of my "*French friends.*"

You know, sir, that the History under consideration was written before the commencement of the nineteenth century, and even before Mr. Adams was President of the United States. Did you not often urge Mrs. Warren to "continue her annals," and add, as a reason for urging

this, that "no one had more authentic materials, and that you knew of no one that would do it better." This opinion might have induced you to write thus to Mrs. Warren: "Hague, Aug. 19, 1782. I hope Mrs. Warren will give my Dutch negotiation a place in her History: it is one of the most extraordinary in all the diplomatic records. But it has succeeded to a marvel."

There is a meanness as well as malignancy in striving to blast a work that many of the best judges of literary merit that even yourself have been acquainted with in America have spoken of in a manner very flattering to the author. Nor has your correspondent ever been charged with a want of veracity until you have unkindly done this; and no part of her deportment through a long life has ever been suspected to spring from malignancy of heart.

If there is not sufficient merit in the History of the American Revolution to establish its reputation, the author ought not to endeavor to impose it on society. If there is, it will not be in the power of enmity to sink it into oblivion. If I should live to see another edition called for of the work you have been vilifying, and should be fully convinced of any mistake, I feel myself ready to correct any error that may inadvertently have crept in, but am persuaded I shall never be obliged to contradict myself.

I have heretofore been fond of perusing your opinions on any work or any subject. This has never been done with feelings so deficient in the benign and heavenly spirit of friendship as I think have appeared in the letters recently received from the late President of the United States. I think I shall ever be a stranger to those intemperate passions that have guided his pen.

I now forbear further remarks. The lines with which you concluded your late correspondence cap the climax of rancor, indecency, and vulgarism. Yet, as an old friend,

I pity you; as a Christian, I forgive you; but there must be some acknowledgment of your injurious treatment or some advances to conciliation, to which my mind is ever open, before I can again feel that respect and affection towards Mr. Adams which once existed in the bosom of

MERCY WARREN.

APPENDIX

TO

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JOHN ADAMS AND MERCY WARREN.

MRS. ABIGAIL ADAMS TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

QUINCY, March 9, 1807.

MY DEAR MRS. WARREN, — To your kind and friendly letter[1] I fully designed an immediate reply, but a severe attack of rheumatic complaint in my head has confined me to my chamber for several weeks, and rendered me unable to hold a pen. Though recovering from it, my head still feels cracked, — shattered I am sure it is. You will therefore pardon any inaccuracy I may commit. My health, which you so kindly inquire after, has been better for two years past than for many of those which preceded them. I am frequently reminded that I here have no abiding place. I bend to the blast. It passes over for the present, and I rise again.

Your letter, my dear Madam, — written so much in the style of Mrs. Warren's ancient friendship, — renewed all those sensations which formerly gave me pleasure and from which I have derived sincere and durable gratification; and I anticipate a still closer and more cordial union in the world of spirits, to which we are hastening, when these earthly tabernacles shall be mouldered into dust.

If we were to count our years by the revolutions we have witnessed, we might number them with the ante-diluvians. So rapid have been the changes, that the mind, though fleet in

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[1] This letter has not been found among the papers left by Mrs. Adams Those which follow relate to the discussion already held, and to the reconciliation. The remainder are inserted as interesting in themselves historically, as well as showing the ultimate restoration of entire good feeling between the parties. — EDS.

its progress, has been outstripped by them; and we are left, like statues, gazing at what we can neither fathom nor comprehend.

You inquire, What does Mr. Adams think of Napoleon? If you had asked Mrs. Adams, she would have replied to you in the words of Pope: —

> "If plagues and earthquakes break not Heaven's design,
> Why then a Borgia or a Napoline?"

I am authorized to reply to your question, "What does Mr. Adams think Napoleon was made for?" My answer shall be as prompt and frank as her question, — Napoleon's Maker alone can tell all he was made for. In general, Napoleon was, I will not say made, but permitted, for a cat-o'-nine-tails to inflict ten thousand lashes upon the back of Europe, as divine vengeance for the atheism, infidelity, fornications, adulteries, incests, and sodomies, as well as briberies, robberies, murders, thefts, intrigues, and fraudulent speculations, of her inhabitants; and, if we are far enough advanced in the career, — and certainly we have progressed very rapidly, — to whip us for the same crimes; and, after he has answered the end he was made or permitted for, to be thrown into the fire. Now I think I have merited the answer from Mrs. Warren which she has promised me to the question, "What was Napoleon made for?"

May I ask Mrs. Warren, in my turn, What was Colonel Burr made for? And what can you make of him or his projects, enveloped in as many mysteries as Mrs. Radcliffe's Castle of Udolpho? How he mounted to power we know, and a faithful historic page ought to record; and, after he had answered the end for which he was permitted, we know how he fell. What is yet left for him to perform, time must unveil.

I thank you, my dear Madam, for your inquiries after my daughter. She was well a few days since. She had letters from her son dated in November. He was then at Trinidad, where he expected to pass the winter; a Don Quixote expedition, which could never have met with his grandfather's or my assent or consent, if it had been known to us before he had sailed. It has been a source of much anxiety to us and to his mother.

. . . . . .

I pray you to present Mr. Adams's and my regards to General Warren. We both of us rejoice to hear that he enjoys so much

health at his advanced period of life. We shall always be happy to hear of the welfare of friends whom we have loved from our early years, and with whom we have passed many, very many, social hours of pleasing converse, in unity of bond and spirit.

With sincere regard, I subscribe your friend,

ABIGAIL ADAMS.

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

CAMBRIDGE, 15th Sept., 1807.

MY DEAR MADAM, — Since the receipt of your favor of the 25th of August, I have been severely attacked by the influenza, which for ten days so prostrated me as to render me incapable of attention of any kind; but it is now abating, and I hope will depart never to return again.

The subject of your letter of yesterday has astonished me. I cannot judge of it without seeing the letters, but am clearly of opinion that "very angry, vindictive, and indecent phraseology" admits of but one dignified line of conduct on the part of a lady, and that is *silence*. This giving an opportunity to the offended party to cool and reflect, often, of itself, cures the evil, which volumes of recrimination or justification would but serve to increase. I will soon communicate to you my sentiments on that part of your History which relates to this matter, and request in the interim that you will accept, with General Warren and your family, the best wishes of Mrs. Gerry, myself, and family for your health and happiness, and be assured that I am ever very respectfully your friend,

E. GERRY.

I consider, with yourself, our correspondence on this subject as perfectly confidential.

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

CAMBRIDGE, 2d Nov., 1807.

DEAR MADAM, — Mrs. Gerry's sickness, and indispensable concerns more numerous than usual, have defeated my intentions in regard to the letters which you have kindly communicated

to me. I will now fulfil my promise as far as possible. Their purport, I must confess, as they respect their author and the friend to whom they are addressed, has given me inexpressible pain, and nothing would give me greater pleasure than to promote the reconciliation of a lady and gentleman whom I have been wont to consider as my particular friends, but of this I fear there is not much prospect. The tenor of the letters appears to preclude an answer, — one of the most direct and effectual means for an *éclaircissement;* and the mediation of friends, unless voluntarily authorized and requested by the parties, — a measure, under the existing circumstances, not to be expected, — could promise but little success. I shall therefore, without further preface, submit, with the feelings of a sincere friend, some observations on the subject.

The object of Mr. Adams, as expressed in the first page of his letter of July 11th, was certainly, under the sense of injury which he afterwards expressed, consistent with the character of a gentleman of sense, honor, and reputation, and, had it been carefully pursued, would probably have committed to oblivion the letters themselves, and have terminated to the mutual satisfaction of the parties; but if he did not "conceive resentment," and was not "hastily changed into an enemy," he approached so near to these points as that his best friends must allow he appeared to be in contact with them; and, as it respects yourself, Madam, the impressions on your mind made by the letters more than justifies this observation. The quotation from your History, that "Mr. Adams, his passions and prejudices were *sometimes* too strong for his sagacity and judgment," does not make the impression on my mind which it did make on his feelings. The old Latin adage, "*Nemo sapit omnibus horis*," is, I presume, universally admitted; and Mr. Adams must, in contravention of this maxim, have been at all times and at every period of his life *wise*, if his passions and prejudices were never too strong for his sagacity and judgment. He may take other grounds perhaps in regard to this assertion, and urge that the truth is not always to be spoken or recorded; but, when this assertion is applied to an historian, it must be admitted even by my friend Adams that much may be said on both sides. You are called on for "instances" to verify the quotation; and is it necessary to produce any but what are contained in the letters which we are considering?

The next quotation from the History, viz. that "Mr. Adams was sent to England with a view of negotiating a treaty of commerce, but the Government too sore from the loss of the Colonies, and the nation too much soured by the breach, nothing was done," has produced an explanation from him which in effect admits the fact that "nothing was done," but states as the cause the insertion of a provision in the project of the treaty by himself and Mr. Jefferson, which he well knew Great Britain would never consent to, and which he would not have proposed, had he "been alone in the commission." Admitting his explanation to be perfectly correct, it appears to me that the cause of the defeat of the treaty assigned by the History is much more favorable to the negotiators than that assigned by himself; for the soreness of the Government and sourness of the nation the American Ministers could not prevent, but were under no necessity of inserting the provision which defeated the treaty. Your assertion that "nothing was done" merely regarded the treaty of commerce, which was the primary object of negotiation, and had no relation to the other measures referred to by Mr. Adams.

There is, in the page from which the former quotations are made, "a passage the most exceptionable" to Mr. Adams, which is this: "Unfortunately for himself and his country, he became so enamoured with the British Constitution, and the government, manners, and laws of the nation, that a partiality for monarchy appeared, which was inconsistent with his former professions of republicanism." The whole of this Mr. Adams declares to be totally unfounded; and, whatever opinions he may have expressed on this or any other subject, he has undoubtedly a right to explain them according to his real intention at the time they were expressed; but the fact appears to me candidly to be this: That his writings and conversations have made, throughout the United States, similar impressions with those recorded in the History; and, if they can be effaced by his explanations, it will give great pleasure to all his friends, and make friends of many of his political enemies. This I can affirm from my own knowledge; that, whilst Mr. Adams was a member of Congress, and pending the project of Confederation, he clearly was of opinion that a powerful executive would be requisite for governing the people of this country; and, unless

it was well secured by bars and fences, it would be overwhelmed by the flood of democracy. He predicted that the Confederation would be "a rope of sand," and never approved of that system; but it is difficult for me to ascertain how far his principles and opinions of that period correspond with those he has since entertained, without knowing of both precisely the extent.

As opportunities may offer, I will progress in this business, but must at present conclude, dear Madam, requesting your acceptance, with our friend the General, of the best respects of Mrs. Gerry and your sincere friend

E. Gerry.

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

Cambridge, June 5, 1809.

I have received, my dear Madam, your friendly letter of the 17th of May; and the papers to which you allude are entirely at your disposition. The imminent danger in which we then were (viz., at the period of the town-meeting) of a civil war, and which would inevitably have ensued, in my opinion, had not the modification been made in the non-intercourse act, which took place a few days after my letter had reached Washington, rendered a publication at that time, in my mind, indispensable. The high degree of public irritation made that moment extremely critical, and a drop of blood spilt in anger would have rendered future precautions of no effect. There was no time to be lost in pointing out to the public their imminent danger. Neither could facts be concealed or partially stated, without risking the salvation of the country. Thus circumstanced, to be explicit appeared to me indispensable. The election, Madam, which you allude to, I consider rather as the result of the narrow escape from a civil war, of which every one appears to be sensible, than of the high expectations of justice from a treaty. How far this will be realized can only be determined by time. I hope, however, that the temerity which followed the repeal of the Stamp Act will not be experienced in the present case. The conduct of Parliament on the former occasion, and the view of it then by discerning individuals, is correctly stated in the "History of the late Revolution;" but

it has not now, as it then had, sovereign power and authority over this country, which is now, but was not then, organized, armed, and adequate to defence against any foreign insult or injustice.

I shall, with great pleasure, peruse the replies to the letters you allude to, and think it highly probable that they will both rest on your files. Indeed, it has been always my opinion that, if you do not incline to publish them, the author will not. The style will not admit of putting the letters to the press. It has been my intention, however, to finish my remarks, if ever I am to have any leisure; but my life, for years past, has been, by one means and another, incessantly occupied. I shall, in reviewing this subject, if you will allow me the expression, treat it with the utmost candor, and, if possible, for caustics substitute balsams, between quondam friends. I cannot, however, but admit you have great reasons for your remarks in regard to the versatility of politicians. Mrs. Gerry and my family request you to accept their respectful and affectionate regards; and be assured that I remain, dear Madam, yours very sincerely and respectfully,

E. Gerry.

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

Cambridge, Nov. 7, 1811.

My dear Madam, — I am very happy to learn, by your letters dated the 18th and 29th of October, that you and our other friends at Plymouth are in good health. The welfare of all is to me and my family a subject of delight on every occasion.

On the day of my leaving you, we dined in Quincy, and after dinner I communicated to Mrs. Adams and conferred freely on your message to the President, and afterwards delivered it, agreeably to her advice, to him. After long conversation, in which he was very temperate, he inquired whether he may keep the paper containing the message till our next interview; and I consented, on the express condition that no copy should be taken of it. Soon after, I rode with him to Squantum, to celebrate the anniversary of that place, according to usage; and on the ride we conferred again freely on the subject of the message, and he proposed to proceed by letters to me explanatory of his views. The written paper alluded to above he returned,

and declared that no copy had been taken of it. He said "that his character had been assailed, by friends and foes, in a manner that rendered it of little worth; that, in regard to his letters to you, they contained many things which he wished to remain recorded in his letter-book, to be used or not by his children, according to circumstances; that otherwise he would deliver it up to you, and thus give you an opportunity to cut out the letters relating to yourself, and burn them; that he and his family had formerly a sincere regard and respect for General Warren, yourself, and your family; that to put an end to this uneasiness would be pleasing to him as well as to yourself; that, indeed, he harbored no enmity to you, but that there existed no necessity to make, in your History, any strictures on his conduct; and that the course he had proposed, if my time would admit of it, was perhaps the best to bring this matter to an agreeable issue." I have not yet received a line from him on the subject, and presume it has been owing to his knowledge of the pressure I was under of public business, which has exceeded any that I have ever before experienced. I have all the papers committed by yourself confidentially to me, and shall undoubtedly want them in case of the measure proposed by the President.

The visit of my daughter, which she had fully intended, was prevented by the ill state of health of my son Elbridge, with whom she had made an arrangement to carry her to Plymouth. He went first to Nantucket, and then to Connecticut; and thus filled up his whole vacation. Thomas was also absent when it was ascertained that his brother could not go to Plymouth. Elbridge was under positive engagements to go to Nantucket with his classmate Adan, and to go to Connecticut with our friend Mr. Ben Lee, before he agreed with his sister. My daughters want much to have the honor of paying you a visit, and to include in it every branch of your beloved family. Mrs. Gerry has for a long time given up correspondence, on account of her eyes, but has in view another ride to Plymouth when circumstances shall favor it. She has always had, and still has, the highest respect for, and affectionate attachment to, yourself and family; feelings which pervade my young circle, and make it, if possible, more dear to myself. Accept, I pray you, with all our friends, our unfeigned affection and regards; and be assured, my dear Madam, I remain, very truly and sincerely, your friend,

E. Gerry.

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 19, 1812.

MY DEAR MADAM, — In my letter of the 17th, I omitted to mention that, as your answers to the letters are completed in a manner that applies to every material point, the two letters of mine expressing opinions on the subject, the first of which was dated the 2d of November, 1807, and the others soon after, can be of no further use, and may be returned, if agreeable to you, by the first safe conveyance.

Very respectfully and sincerely your friend,

E. GERRY.

MRS. ABIGAIL ADAMS TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

QUINCY, Dec. 30, 1812.

MY DEAR MADAM, — Although at the eleventh hour, I will not suffer the year to close upon me without noticing your repeated favors and thanking you for them.

So long as we are inhabitants of this earth, and possess any of our faculties, we cannot be indifferent to the state of our country, our posterity, and our friends. Personally, we have arrived so near the close of the drama that we can experience but few of the evils which await the rising generation. We have passed through one revolution, and happily arrived at the goal; but the ambition, injustice, and plunder of foreign powers have again involved us in war, the termination of which is not given us to see.

If we have not the "gorgeous palaces or the cloud-capped towers" of Moscow to be levelled with the dust, nor a million of victims to sacrifice upon the altar of ambition, we have our firesides, our comfortable habitations, our cities, our churches, and our country to defend, our rights, privileges, and independence to preserve.

And for these are we not justly contending? Thus it appears to me. Yet I hear from our pulpits, and read from our presses, that it is an unjust, a wicked, a ruinous, and unnecessary war.

If I give an opinion with respect to the conduct of our native State, I cannot do it with approbation. She has had much to

complain of, as it respected a refusal of naval protection; yet that cannot justify her in paralyzing the arm of Government, when raised for her defence and that of the nation. A house divided against itself, — and upon that foundation do our enemies build their hopes of subduing us. May it prove a sandy one to them!

You once asked, What does Mr. Adams think of Napoleon? The reply was, I think that, after having been the scourge of nations, he should himself be destroyed. We have seen him run an astonishing career. Is not his measure full? Like Charles XII. of Sweden he may find in Alexander another Peter.

Much, my friend, might we moralize upon these great events; but we know but in part, and we see but in part. The longer I live, the more wrapt in clouds and darkness does the future appear to me.

> "Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
> A hero perish or a sparrow fall:
> Atoms to atoms into ruin hurled,
> And now a bubble burst, and now a world."

With this letter, I forward to you a token of love and friendship. I hope it will not be the less valuable to you for combining, with a lock of my own hair, that of your ancient friend's, at his request. The lock of hair with which you favored me from a head which I shall ever respect, I have placed in a handkerchief pin, set with pearl, in the same manner with the ring. I shall hold it precious. Thus have I disposed of the precious metal sent by my son.[1]

If the spring should find me in health, and my friend also, I shall wish to renew my visit to Plymouth, that I may again embrace you, and be invigorated from a recollection of those days when we held sweet converse together.

With compliments and regards to every member of your family, I subscribe

Your affectionate ABIGAIL ADAMS.

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[1] The ring and pin referred to in this and following letter are now in the possession of Winslow Warren, Esq., at Dedham. — EDS.

MRS. MERCY WARREN TO MRS. ABIGAIL ADAMS.

PLYMOUTH, 26 January, 1813.

MY DEAR MADAM, — *A token of love and friendship.* What can be more acceptable to a mind of susceptibility?

Your very friendly letter, under date December 30, came safely to hand, with its inclosure, within a few days after the date, and would have been earlier acknowledged but for intervening circumstances needless to relate.

I shall with pleasure wear the ring as a valuable expression of your regard; nor will it be the less valued for combining with yours a lock of hair from the venerable and patriotic head of the late President of the United States. This, being at his own request, enhances its worth in my estimation. It is an assurance that he can never forget former amities. For this I thank him. While I view this testimonial of their regard, I shall be daily reminded from whose head the locks were shorn; friends who have been entwined to my heart by years of endearment, which, if in any degree interrupted by incalculable circumstances, the age of us all now reminds us we have more to think of than the partial interruption of sublunary friendships.

"My name has ever been engraved on the heart of Mrs. Adams;" and when she informs me she has placed the initials of my name on the faded lock I sent her, and means to wear it on her bosom as an eternal mark of her regard, it cannot but be pleasing to a mind who considers true friendship as one of the best cordials of human life, and wishes a reunion of those hereafter which have been formed, continued, and still exist in sincerity and truth. May ours be prepared and sublimated for an existence in endless peace!

I shall bear in my recollection the very agreeable promise you made in the close of your last, that if the "spring should find you well, and your friend also," you would again visit Plymouth, and *as in former days hold sweet converse together.* A visit from two such aged friends would be gratifying indeed.

Mr. Adams with yourself will accept the respect and regard of your friend.

M. WARREN.

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

CAMBRIDGE, April 20, 1813.

I have been honored, my dear Madam, by your letter of the 12th, and regret exceedingly the impossibility of my visiting Plymouth previously to my departure for Washington. This is a pleasure which I promise myself after my return home ; and the view which you have taken of the time of our absence will, I hope, be changed to one more lively, when I inform you that our old friend, Judge Lee, at the age of ninety-two, called on me, on my leaving home for France, to bid a final adieu. On my arrival here, fourteen months afterwards, he again called to remind me that he had lived longer than he had intended, for the pleasure of renewing his visit to his friend.

The prologue and epilogue of our friend, the Major, were seasoned with Attic, but not too high for the climate.

The reunion in friendship of two families whom I most respect, and with whom I have had the most amicable and uninterrupted intercourse for forty years, has given me inexpressible pleasure, and presents incontestable evidence that their attachments were founded on their respective veneration and regard for each other, which neither time nor untoward events could obliterate or efface.

Accept, my dear Madam, the cordial wishes of Mrs. Gerry, myself, and family for the health and happiness of yourself and yours, and be ever assured that I remain, most sincerely and respectfully,

Your friend, E. GERRY.

JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

QUINCY, Nov. 24, 1813.

MADAM, — I have been much to blame for neglecting to acknowledge your obliging favor of September 12th.

I am very much obliged to you for your civilities to my wife, my son, Colonel Smith, and my grand-daughters. My girls have long expressed an earnest desire to see Madam Warren, and

have been highly gratified by their visit, and very grateful for the kind hospitality, the social enjoyments, and instructive conversations they experienced.

. . . . . .

Governor McKean's notice of your brother I thought worth preserving in your family. The oddity of the dialogue, and the particular moment of its composition, were the circumstances that made it rather an object of curiosity than use. I think, however, the traits of character are correct.

I know not, Madam, what your father, your husband, or your brother would think of these times. A mighty effort of nature is in operation, that no understanding below that Providence which superintends and directs it can comprehend. An entire separation in government, at least between America and Europe, seems to be commencing; but what will be its course, when and how it will terminate, and what influence it will have on Asia and Africa, no living man, I believe, will pretend to foresee.

We have acted our parts. The curtain will soon be drawn upon us. We must leave the future to that Providence which has protected the past. This sentiment of duty and interest, I doubt not, Madam, will be approved by you, as I hope it is realized with gratitude and entire confidence and submission by your old friend and respectful, humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

QUINCY, Feb. 2, 1814.

DEAR MADAM, — I send you a curiosity. Mr. McKean is mistaken in a day or two. The final vote of independence, after the last debate, was passed on the 2d or 3d of July, and the Declaration prepared and signed on the 4th.

What are we to think of history, when, in less than forty years, such diversities appear in the memories of living persons, who were witnesses?

After noting what you please, I pray you to return the letter. I should like to communicate it to Gerry, Paine, and Jefferson, to stir up their pure minds.

The unanimity of the nation in independence, so modestly boasted now by the Tories, is too gross to impose upon all.

With great regard,

JOHN ADAMS.

[Inclosure.]

GOVERNOR McKEAN TO JOHN ADAMS.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 7, 1814.

DEAR SIR, — In your favor of 26th November last, you say "that you venture to say that about a third of the people of the Colonies were against the Revolution." It required much reflection before I could fix my opinion on this subject; but, on mature deliberation, I conclude you are right, and that more than a third of influential characters were against it. The opposition consisted chiefly of the Friends, or Quakers, the Menonists, the Protestant Episcopalians, whose clergy received salaries from the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and from the officers of the Crown and Proprietors of Provinces, with their connections, adding the timid and those who believed the Colonies would be conquered, and that of course they would be safe in their persons and property from such conduct, and also have a probability of claiming office and distinction; and also the discontented and capricious of all grades.

I have not heard the specific sum of money Mr. C. J. Marshall received for his copyright of the "Life of Washington," nor have I been able to obtain any certain information concerning it; but, if he obtained a sixth part of what you mention, I think he ought to be contented.

During my protracted life, I neither have had leisure or inclination to write a history, and at my present age it is out of the question. It is true I have been often spoken to, and even solicited, by a great many of my learned acquaintance, to undertake that of the American Revolution, beginning at the year 1760 or before: among them, Dr. Rush, your former correspondent, was not the least anxious.

Though I shall never write a history, I will give you a historical fact respecting the Declaration of Independence, which may amuse, if not surprise.

On the 1st of July, 1776, the question was taken in committee of the whole of Congress, when Pennsylvania, represented by seven members then present, voted against it, four to three. Among the majority were Robert Morris and John Dickinson. Delaware (having only two present, namely, myself and Mr. Read) was divided. All the other States voted in favor of it. The report was delayed until the 4th; and, in the mean time, I sent an express for Cæsar Rodney to Dover, in the County of Kent, in Delaware, at my private expense, whom I met at the State House door, on the 4th of July, in his boots. He resided eighty miles from the city, and just arrived as Congress met. The question was taken. Delaware voted in favor of Independence. Pennsylvania (there being only five members present, Messrs. Dickinson and Morris absent) voted also for it. Messrs. Willing and Humphries were against it. Thus the thirteen States were unanimous in favor of Independence. Notwithstanding this, in the printed public journal of Congress for 1776, Vol. II., it appears that the Declaration of Independence was declared on the 4th of July, 1776, by the gentlemen whose names are there inserted: whereas, no persons signed it on that day; and, among the names there inserted, one gentleman, namely, George Read, Esq., was not in favor of it; and seven were not in Congress on that day, namely, Messrs. Morris, Rush, Clymer, Smith, Taylor, and Ross, all of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Thornton, of New Hampshire; nor were the six gentlemen last named members of Congress on the 4th of July. The five for Pennsylvania were appointed delegates by the convention of that State on the 20th of July, and Mr. Thornton took his seat in Congress, for the first time, on the 4th of November following; when the names of Henry Hinds, of New York, and Thomas McKean, of Delaware, are not printed as subscribers, though both were present in Congress on the 4th of July, and voted for Independence.

Here false colors are certainly hung out. There is culpability somewhere. What I have heard as an explanation is as follows: When the Declaration was voted, it was ordered to be engrossed on parchment, and then signed; and that a few days afterwards a Resolution was entered on the secret journal that no person should have a seat in Congress during that year until he should have signed the Declaration of Independence. After the 4th of July, I was not in Congress for several months, hav-

ing marched with a regiment of Associators, as Colonel, to support General Washington, until the flying camp of ten thousand men was completed. When the Associators were discharged, I returned to Philadelphia, took my seat in Congress, and signed my name to the Declaration on parchment. This transaction should be truly stated, and the then secret journal should be made public. In the manuscript journal, Mr. Pickering, then Secretary of State, and myself, saw a *printed half-sheet* of paper, with the names of the members afterwards in the printed journals stitched in. We examined the parchment, where my name is signed in my own handwriting.

A glimmering of peace appears in the horizon. May it be realized. But every preparation should be made for a continuance of the war. When the British arms have been successful, I have never found their rulers or ministers otherwise than haughty, rude, imperious, nay, insolent. They and their allies have this year been successful, both in the north and south of Europe.

My sight fades very fast, though my writing may not discover it.

God bless you. [Signature cut out.]

JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. MERCY WARREN.

Quincy, March 24, 1814.

Dear Madam, — If weak eyes and weaker fingers had not required more time to write a line than was once necessary for a page, I should sooner have expressed my sincere sympathy with you and your whole family on the loss of your amiable grandchild. We who have lost all our ancestors and collaterals, and several of our children and grandchildren, well know the pungency of grief in younger life under such tender deprivations.

A gloomy philosophy, or a more melancholy religion, disposes men to misery and despair; but a more cheering confidence in the wisdom and benevolence that governs the universe ought to dispose us, not only to submit, but to make the best of every thing.

I can neither applaud nor approve of the lamentations over "Few and evil days," "Days in which there is no pleasure,"

"Vale of tears," "Miseries of life," &c. I have seen no such days, and those who think they have, I fear have made them such by want of reflection.

As you express a curiosity to see letters from a far country, I will enclose the last I have received, dated September 3d. The contents should be confined to your confidential family, for you will at once perceive that, if published, they would excite foolish speculations and scurrilous reflections, without doing any good. You will be so good as to return the letter as soon as may be convenient.

Though my letter began with great gravity and sincerity upon a very serious and afflicting subject, I hope you will permit me, Madam, to conclude with a little gayety. Mrs. A., I presume, will give you a sketch of Madame de Staël, the only child of the celebrated Necker. This lady was married to the Baron de Staël Holstein, the handsomest man in Europe, by an intrigue of the Queen of France, at whose solicitation he had been sent ambassador, by the King of Sweden, to Versailles. This nobleman was particularly attentive to me upon many occasions, and invited me and my family to a diplomatic dinner at his hotel. All this I have premised for the sake of indulging my vanity by repeating a compliment, in the French style, which he made to me: "Madame Adams a infiniment de l'esprit, et mademoiselle, la peau d'un ange:" "Madame Adams has an inexhaustible fund of wit, and Miss Adams has the complexion of an angel." Mrs. Adams will not relate to you this anecdote, and therefore I have taken the ridicule of it upon your friend,

JOHN ADAMS.

MRS. MERCY WARREN TO JOHN ADAMS.

PLYMOUTH, August 4, 1814.

Yours, my dear sir, of the 15th ult., is in the same style of partial friendship which I witnessed many years ago. If the author of the "Group" ever deserved half the encomiums you have lavished on her talent, it ought to be rescued from oblivion. I know of no one living who can or will do this but yourself. You expressed a wish in yours to have your memory refreshed, in consequence of which I enclose a list of the *dramatis personæ*, with their original names.

This little work was committed to the press by yourself the winter before Lexington battle. I am sorry to confirm your assertion, that you have not been to Plymouth since the year 1774. Since that period, I have not had the pleasure of seeing you at the Plymouth fireside. May not this yet be done once more before time closes upon us, where we may converse on "the puny race of idolaters of mammon in the present generation," and compare them with the characters who acted with yourself when you obtained an emancipation from the yoke of foreign slavery for this thoughtless, thankless race, that are continually abusing that glorious effort, and are endeavoring to blast the names and memory of those who achieved this mighty work. Your observations and recollections, with a few of mine which are still retained, might make a curious conversation.

I hope the thread of your life and the powers of your mind may be drawn out as far as you can wish beyond the day which gives peace to the United States. Whether it is or not, I rejoice to see your pious resignation to the will of Him who protracts our time, I trust, for wise and benevolent purposes.

You observe that "France is humbled, Napoleon is banished." Could I look into your bosom, I think I should see curious reflections, though you say nothing farther. Will things remain thus? I say, No. There are seeds of other revolutions, which, in a few short years or months, may pour out torrents of blood and misery on a guilty world. You have a right to forbid Cassandra and every other busy genius from troubling their friends with their imaginary evils or conjectures.

I will now call another theme, and pray that you may soon have letters from your son, gratifying, indeed, to his friends and to his country.

August 11. Thus far had I written, with design to send off by post on the ensuing day, which brought me a billet from Mrs. Adams, introducing a part of your amiable family, whom I met with the usual cordiality which ever warms my bosom on the sight of a friend. But I own myself now a little mortified at their sudden departure. I expected that their visit would have been protracted two or three days longer. I am a little curious to know what hastened their return. Was it the hostile attitude in which they found the ancient town of Plymouth? Or did I not succeed in my endeavors to make them as happy as possible with faded talents in a feeble fabric? Whatever was

the cause, I must regret it, but shall never cease to love the children of my friends so long as I find them worthy, good, and amiable.

Tell my dear Mrs. Adams that I cannot relinquish the hope of one visit more to Your assured friend,

M. Warren.[1]

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[1] This was the last letter written to Quincy by Mrs. Warren. She survived a little over two months. Her last message to Mrs. Adams was communicated in a letter from her son, dated the 19th of October. — Eds.

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